

COMMUNITY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER:
DOUGLAS, WYOMING
BLM SOCIAL EFFECTS PROJECT

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This report on Douglas, Wyoming is one in a series of ten community research working papers documenting the field research conducted as part of the BLM Social Effects Project. The project was designed to improve social assessment methods by conducting the necessary literature and primary research to develop and support a Guide to Social Assessment.

The project had five major components. The first component, a review of the literature, provided the basis for developing an analytic framework for the assessment of social effects of energy development. The literature review was organized into the following subject areas:

- 1) Social organization
- 2) Political organization
- 3) Economic organization
- 4) Population and demography
- 5) Family
- 6) Specific groups, including Native Americans, women, and youth
- 7) Attitudes, values, and quality of life
- 8) Mitigation

The second component, the Social Effects Conference, was held in Denver in October 1980. The conference brought representatives of state governments, the BLM, and the academic community together to determine what the focus of the project would be. A principal objective was to integrate the perspectives of decision-makers and sociologists and develop a common set of assessment priorities.

The third component of the project, the research component, was based on the results of the literature analysis and the Social Effects Conference. The priorities identified for study centered on changes in community social organization and indicators of community well-being.

The fourth component of the project was the preparation of a social assessment guide. The Guide is the major product of the project; to ensure its applicability, it was given a trial application under actual field conditions.

The fifth component of the project was a public involvement effort to keep interest groups informed about the project. Meetings with BLM and state officials were held to brief them on the project and to solicit comments. A periodic bulletin was distributed to inform others about the project. In addition, training workshops for BLM social scientists were held to instruct them in the use of the Guide.

1.2 Purposes of the Research Effort

The research component was included in the project to achieve four major objectives:

- 1) To identify social effects, including those suggested by the literature review and conference, and to verify them by field investigation
- 2) To test the analytic framework which was developed as a basis for the Guide
- 3) To further elucidate the mechanisms that cause social effects to occur in energy impact areas
- 4) To test field procedures and the conceptual approach at a level of effort comparable to that available to BLM staff conducting social assessments

Although there were differences in emphasis among conference participants, seven priority assessment topics were identified as being of greatest concern:

- 1) What is the distribution of socioeconomic effects among groups in impacted areas?
- 2) What determines the capacity of communities to manage growth?
- 3) What are the attitudes of residents, both old and new, toward development?
- 4) What are the effects on community facilities and services?
- 5) What are the major lifestyle and social organization changes resulting from energy development?

- 6) What are effective mitigation strategies?
- 7) How can cumulative social effects be measured or described?

Conference participants also emphasized that BLM needed an assessment method that could handle site-specific variations and that would be compatible with the multi-phase BLM assessment and planning processes.

The research phase was to last nine months, and financial resources were limited. Clearly, the research effort could not do justice to all seven of the research priorities summarized above, and it was not BLM's intention that the research effort provide definitive answers to all social impact questions. The goal was to devise an analytic framework that would produce effective social assessments given the BLM process and, at the same time, to learn as much about the above areas of concern as the limited resources permitted. Thus, the project team was given the seven research priorities and was asked to create an appropriate analytic framework and method for implementing the research effort.

1.3 The Analytic Framework

Several general criteria guided the development of the analytic framework. The first criterion was to be sure that the subject of the research was clearly social in nature. The BLM believed that enough was known about how to do economic and demographic assessments as well as facilities and services assessments, but that social assessments needed improvement.

Second, if possible, BLM wanted the assessment process to discriminate between social effects that could be mitigated and those that probably could not. Before BLM or state and local entities can require mitigation, the effects must be known and feasible mitigation methods must be understood.

Third, the framework needed to be implementable within a variety of resource constraints. Each assessment effort within BLM has different

constraints of time, personnel, and funding. Thus, the framework needed to be workable under a variety of conditions.

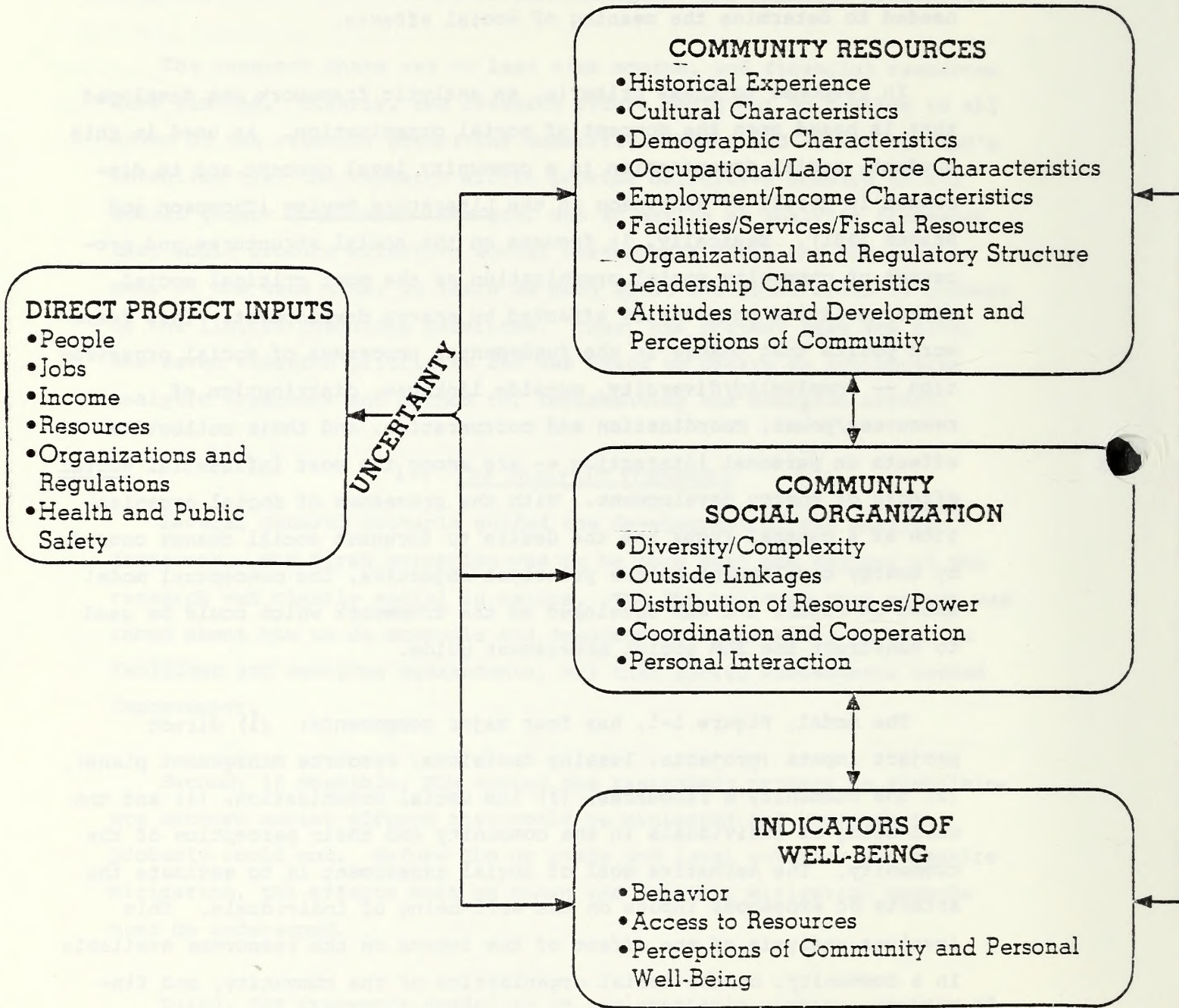
A final criterion was that the framework should not only enable the forecasting of effects, but also should allow for determining the significance of effects for various populations; that is, a basis was needed to determine the meaning of social effects.

In response to these criteria, an analytic framework was developed that is based upon the concept of social organization. As used in this project, social organization is a community level concept and is discussed in detail by Wilkinson in the Literature Review (Thompson and Branch 1981). Basically, it focuses on the social structures and processes of community social organization as the most critical social characteristics potentially affected by energy development. This framework posits that change in the fundamental processes of social organization -- complexity/diversity, outside linkages, distribution of resources/power, coordination and cooperation, and their collective effects on personal interaction -- are among the most influential social effects of energy development. With the processes of social organization as a central focus and the desire to forecast social change caused by energy development as the principal objective, the conceptual model shown in Figure 1-1 was developed as the framework which could be used to construct the BLM social assessment guide.

The model, Figure 1-1, has four major components: (1) direct project inputs (projects, leasing decisions, resource management plans), (2) the community's resources, (3) its social organization, (4) and the well-being of individuals in the community and their perception of the community. The normative goal of social assessment is to estimate the effects of exogenous inputs on the well-being of individuals. This involves analysis of the effect of the inputs on the resources available in a community, on the social organization of the community, and finally, on the well-being of individuals in the community. It thus

FIGURE 1-1

Social Organization Model



specifies the community as an important unit of analysis for the assessment of large scale projects.

Based on the literature review and the BLM conference results, these four components were thought to incorporate the significant dimensions of social impact assessment. When combined with a theoretical concept of social well-being that addresses the role of the community in serving the social needs of its members, it provides a basis for examining not only the effect of the project upon social organization but also for examining the relationship between social organization and individual well-being.

A principal advantage of the model (Figure 1-1) is that it clarifies the relationship between the social assessment component and the other components of the total assessment process (that is, economic/demographic, facilities and services, and natural environment). It also makes more explicit the mechanisms by which exogenous inputs modify community resources and social organization, and ultimately, individual well-being -- directly by the primary effect of the inputs, and indirectly by changing interaction patterns among the components.

1.4 Research Design

The research effort consisted of conducting ten comparative community case studies. These were imperative since little secondary data exist for the social variables specified in the model. Further, since the social organization variables have received little attention in western social impact research, there was little known about them. Consequently, the case study effort was divided into two phases. The first phase were exploratory in nature and included four communities. More time and effort was allocated to these communities to determine the utility of the model, and to identify major relationships and variables. In the second phase, six more communities were included, but the effort was more focused and fewer resources were expended per community. Douglas was included in the first phase effort.

As stated above, the analytic framework devised to guide the research, Figure 1-1, dictates that the "community" be included as a unit when assessing the social effects of large-scale projects. This approach suggests that the social meaning of development for members of a social unit, the community, is determined largely by the interaction of exogenous inputs with the community's resources and its social organization.

Using this approach meant the focus of the research had to be the community itself. It was decided the focus had to be further restricted to rural communities, those with less than 25,000 people. This was important because many of the problems facing BLM are concerned with disruption in rural, western towns. Further, mostly primary data had to be collected by the research team in the field, and it was important that the results be as easily generalized as possible. Since in-depth studies of only a few cases could produce misleading results, it was important to include as many cases as possible. Eventually, ten case communities were selected.

To obtain data needed for the four components of the model, two main data sources were identified: unstructured interviews and secondary data available only at the state or local level. Secondary data were collected locally for the inputs and community resource components, and for rates of behaviors. Unstructured interviewing was used to collect data on social organization processes and the other two major indicators of well-being -- access to resources and perceptions of the community.

Field research teams of two each were used, with ten members of the project team participating. Of these ten members, nine had considerable experience interviewing in energy-impacted towns, and rotation of team members among teams was used to minimize interviewer bias. Field instruments and procedures were developed and pretested by a three-person team before research on the ten communities was initiated.

1.5 Selection of Study Communities

A purposeful sampling of communities in the six-state study region based on the following criteria was decided to be the most effective sampling procedure.

- 1) The community must have had input from a major energy project between the years 1965 and 1980.
- 2) The energy development impacting the community had to be a mine, a processing plant (or both), or a gas and oilfield development. Employment had to total at least 300 people, since this was approximately the minimum size of projects likely to result from the BLM leasing process. (Although a preference was shown for coal development, other energy activity qualified.)
- 3) The community had to be outside a metropolitan area.
- 4) The energy development had to be past the peak of the construction phase, and preferably, construction had been completed.
- 5) Because of the tremendous differences in legal and organizational structure between the six states, there had to be representation from each state -- preferably two communities from each state.
- 6) If possible, one of the communities in each state was to be relatively large and one relatively small (compared to the range of community sizes in the six-state area).

From the following list of all communities in the six-state region that met these criteria, the communities indicated with an asterisk were tentatively selected for primary field research (See Table 1-1).

Figure 1-2 is a regional map of the United States which shows the six states with the twelve communities selected for study. Figure 1-3 is a more detailed map of Wyoming and Converse County and includes highways and other cities and towns. Of the twelve communities selected, ten case studies were completed. Some secondary data were collected for Center, North Dakota and Bloomfield, New Mexico, but because of limitations of time and funding, interviews were not conducted for these two communities.

1.6 Field Procedures and Instruments

The field instruments used were semi-structured interview protocol forms which are included in the Appendix. In addition, the field team

TABLE 1-1

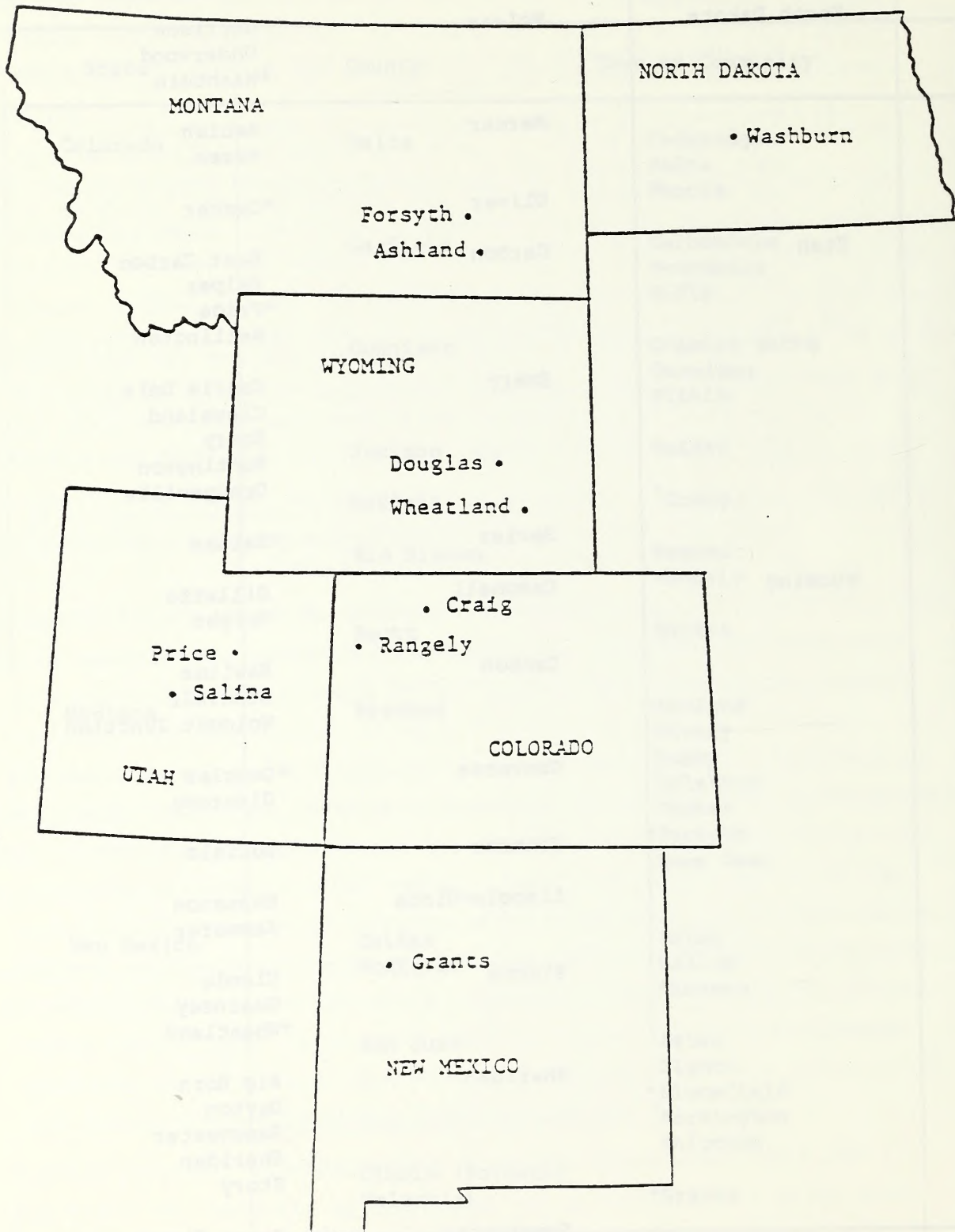
Communities Tentatively Selected for Primary Field Research

State	County	Town or Community
Colorado	Delta	Cedaredge Delta Paonia
	Garfield	Carbondale Newcastle Rifle
	Gunnison	Crested Butte Gunnison Pitkin
Montana	Jackson	Walden
	Moffatt	*Craig
	Rio Blanco	Meeker *Rangely
	Routt	Hayden
New Mexico	Rosebud	*Ashland Birney Busby Colstrip Decker *Forsyth Lame Deer
	Colfax McKinley	Raton Gallup Thoreau
	San Juan	Aztec Blanco *Bloomfield Farmington Shiprock
	Cibola (formerly Valencia)	*Grants

TABLE 1-1 (cont.)

State	County	Town or Community
North Dakota	McLean	Garrison Underwood *Washburn
	Mercer	Beulah Hazen
	Oliver	*Center
Utah	Carbon	East Carbon Helper *Price Wellington
	Emery	Castle Dale Cleveland Emery Huntington Orangeville
	Sevier	*Salina
Wyoming	Campbell	Gillette Wright
	Carbon	Rawlins Sinclair Wolcott Junction
	Converse	*Douglas Glenrock
	Johnson	Buffalo
	Lincoln-Uinta	Evanston Kemmerer
	Platte	Glendo Guernsey *Wheatland
	Sheridan	Big Horn Dayton Ranchester Sheridan Story
	Sweetwater	Green River Rock Springs

FIGURE 1-2
Location of Study Communities



MONTANA

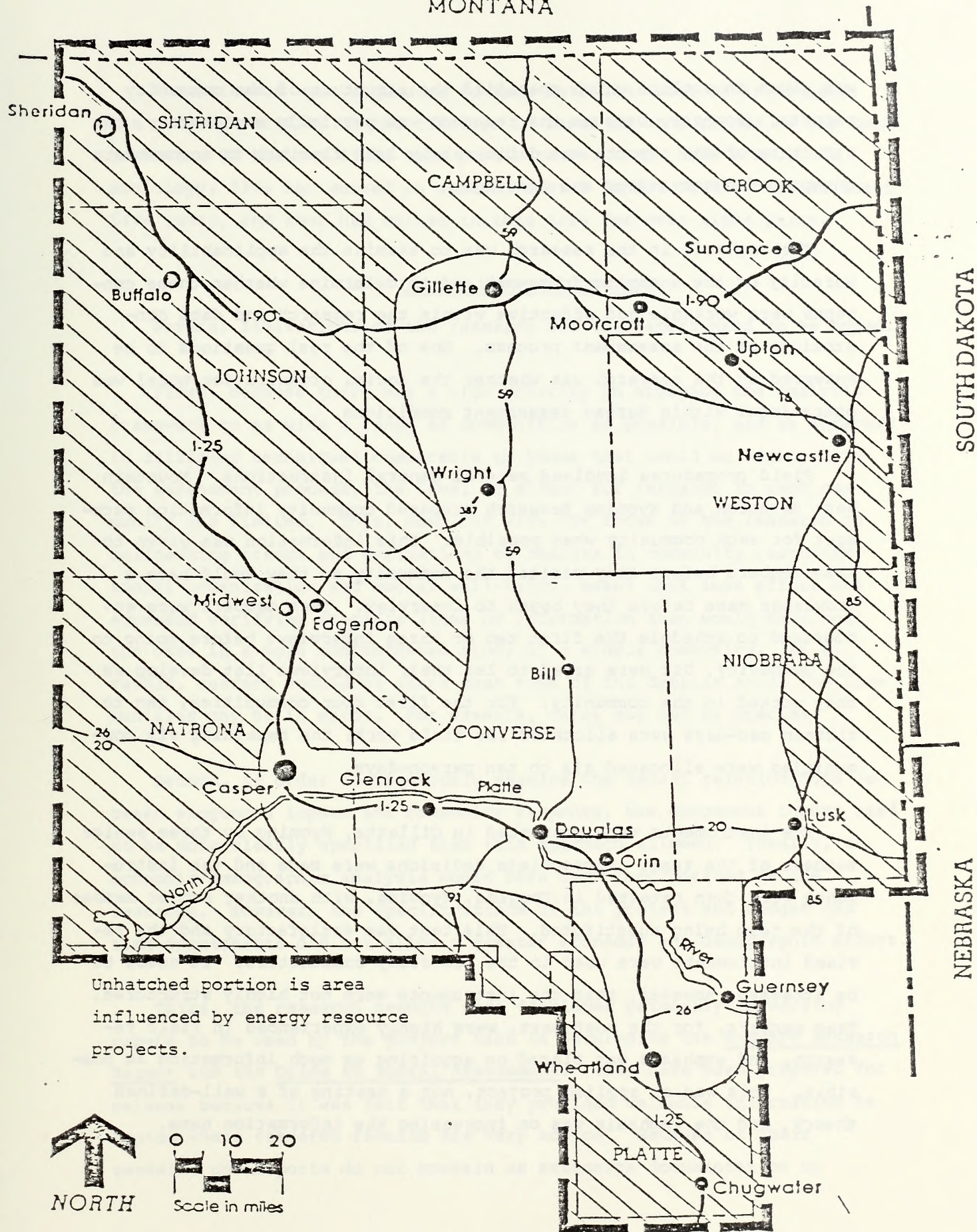


Figure 1-3
Map of Douglas and East-central Wyoming

was given an outline which specified the structure of the community reports. However, because the research was partially exploratory, the structure of the reports was deliberately left flexible to accommodate unexpected observations and findings.

The emphasis in the research was to examine the applicability and veracity of the analytic framework and to determine whether these concepts were workable and effective within the research and data constraints of the assessment process. One of the real questions to be answered by the research was whether the social organization model was operational within Bureau assessment conditions.

Field procedures involved several general instructions. Mountain West Research and Wyoming Research prepared community information packages for each community when possible. This information was given to team members before they visited the community so they would have a knowledge base before they began to interview. Team members were encouraged to schedule the first two or three interviews before going to the community, but were urged to let their interviews list develop as they worked in the community. For the first four communities, ten to sixteen man-days were allocated for field work; the remaining six communities were allocated six to ten person-days.

The instruments were pretested in Gillette, Wyoming by three senior members of the team. Appropriate revisions were made and the instruments were then retested in Douglas, Wyoming, with another senior member of the team being substituted. This test was satisfactory and the revised instruments were used in the ten study communities. It needs to be stressed, however, that the instruments were not highly structured. Team members, for the most part, were highly experienced in field research, and emphasis was placed on acquiring as much information as possible. This was an applied project, not a testing of a well-defined theory, and the emphasis was on increasing the information base.

Interviewers were requested to make detailed notes of interviews; the primary validity of the findings is based on concurrence of the team members. Of the ten field team participants, seven have a Ph.D. in sociology, five had worked on western social impact studies for at least five years, and four had worked in this area for over eight years.

1.7 Limitations and Concepts

Several limitations of the research and the report need to be noted.

First, because there was a high priority on applying the analytic framework to as wide a range of communities as possible, and an interest in utilizing techniques comparable to those that would be employed in the assessment process, the level of effort for research in each community was limited. This, combined with the focus of the research on delineating trends and evaluations of changes in community resources, social organization and social well-being, meant that less effort was expended verifying specific items of information than would have been the case in a more concentrated study of a single community. As a result, readers should be aware that some of the details about the communities may be in error. For example, dates may not be precise.

Second, in order to rigorously examine the causal relationships between exogenous inputs and community response, the exogenous inputs need to be more clearly specified than this approach allowed. Ideally, an economic/demographic analysis would have been incorporated in the research. However, the specifications of the project and budget and time constraints did not allow a greater economic and demographic effort.

Third, the research reports were developed primarily as working papers to be used by the project team in developing the Summary Research Report and the Guide to Social Assessment. They have been prepared for release because it was felt that they provided valuable information on topics where research results are very scarce. Because of their genesis, the reports do not contain as extensive documentation or

referencing as would have been included if they had been prepared as final, stand-alone documents, nor is the prose as polished as it might be.

Nevertheless, these limitations do not necessarily lessen the usefulness of the findings; rather, they indicate areas where caution should be exercised in interpreting and applying the results.

1.8 Organization of the Report

This report is organized to correspond with the social organization model, with some accommodation to the need for orientation to the community early-on. The second chapter presents a brief summary of the history of the community and its resources. The third chapter describes the resource development activities in the vicinity of the community. Chapters 4 through 7 discuss the changes that occurred in the social organization of the community as a result of the energy development in the following sequence: (1) differentiation (complexity/diversity), (2) extralocal linkages, (3) stratification, and (4) integration and personal interaction. Chapter 8 addresses the effects of the energy development on various indicators of well-being. Chapter 9 provides a brief overall summary.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 History

Douglas, Wyoming, as shown in Figure 1-3, is located on the North Platte River in the southeastern quarter of Converse County in eastern Wyoming. This is an area of rolling, semi-arid prairie with foothills and mountains to the southwest. To the west lie the communities of Glenrock (40 miles) and Casper, the county seat of Natrona County (60 miles). These communities have greatly influenced Douglas's development and growth.

The first settlers of the area were homesteaders, most of whom arrived in the 1880s. In the early 1880s, Fort Fetterman, which had been established to handle conflicts with the Sioux, was abandoned by the army and subsequently taken over by civilians. The land south of the military reservation was opened for settlement in 1882.

The town of Douglas was platted in 1886 and incorporated in 1887. Douglas is the county seat of Converse County, which was organized in 1888. The community of Douglas includes the incorporated area of the town of Douglas, the urbanized area immediately surrounding it, and the rural area of the eastern portion of the county.

The first boom in Douglas came with the Wyoming Central Railroad in 1886, (later part of the Chicago and North Western). Not only did the establishment of the railroad cause Douglas to expand to a population of 2,000, but the railroad was also essential to the growth and expansion of the livestock industry and the establishment of commercial outlets for it. The railroad terminated its Douglas railhead in 1887, resulting in a decline of the town's population to about 300.

Douglas was selected as the site for the Wyoming State Fair, the first of which was held in 1905. The fair continues to be an important community event in Douglas, and an ongoing reflection of its ties to state government and its role in state activities. Douglas, in 1981, hosted the National High School Rodeo Finals, an event for which communities throughout the nation competed. Douglas is also the site of the Wyoming Law Enforcement Academy, which opened in 1972 and trains law enforcement officers from throughout the state.

During World War II, Douglas was the site of a major prisoner-of-war internment camp. The camp was operational between 1943 and 1945. In 1945, the camp held 3,011 prisoners with 420 U.S. military personnel assigned to manage and supervise the operation. In 1946, the camp was disbanded, and the entire complex was sold to the county for \$1.00. The local school district obtained a substantial proportion of the land that had been included in the camp.

In the late 1960s, Highway I-25 was constructed linking Douglas with Cheyenne through Wheatland and with Casper through Glenrock. In the mid-1970s, Burlington Northern and the C&NW Railroad jointly applied for and constructed a new rail line between Gillette and Douglas. This line was the longest length of track built in the United States during the 1970s.

Several influential state leaders were from Douglas or Converse County. Many of these leaders were members of the county's large ranching families.

Amos W. Barber, a surgeon at the Wyoming Stockgrower's Association hospital in Douglas, served as secretary of state for Governor Francis E. Warren. He was acting governor from 1891 to 1893, after the Wyoming legislature elected Warren, the territorial governor, to one of the state's first U.S. Senate seats. DeForest Richards of Converse County was governor of Wyoming from 1899 to 1903. Everett Copenhaver of Douglas held the positions of state treasurer and secretary of state at various times between the years 1947 and 1971. John J. McIntyre of

Glenrock was appointed to the Wyoming Supreme Court in 1961, where he served until his death in 1974. He was chief justice from 1971 to 1973.

2.3 Early Mineral and Energy Development

Mineral exploration and development began in the area around Douglas in 1906, when oil and gas deposits were discovered in the Salt Creek Field north of Casper in Natrona County. In 1916, the Big Muddy/Glenrock oil field was discovered, and in the 1920s, oil fields in the Shawnee Basin were also discovered.

In order to process the oil from these fields, Continental Oil and Standard Oil constructed oil refineries in the western portion of Converse County and the eastern portion of Natrona County. Both of these refineries were located near Glenrock. The Continental Refinery was closed down in 1956, causing great economic hardship to the community of Glenrock. The oil drilling and refinery activities in the area, for the most part, had little effect, positive or negative, on Douglas.

Uranium exploration and mining became intensive in the Powder River Basin during the 1950s and 1960s, following the discovery of ore-grade uranium in Campbell County (Pumpkin Buttes district) in 1951. In 1974, uranium production began in Converse County in the southern portion of the Powder River Basin.

Large-scale development of Converse County's coal resources began in 1956 with the construction of Pacific Power and Light's (PP&L) Dave Johnston Power Plant on the Platte River east of Glenrock and its coal mine north of Glenrock. Unit 1 of this project went into operation in 1959, followed by units 2 and 3 in 1961 and 1964, respectively. Consequently, a sizable construction work force was on-site over a period of more than fifteen years. The majority of the PP&L management and workers who moved into the area lived in either Glenrock or Casper, though some labor was attracted to, and drawn from, Douglas. The project was

not considered to have been of particular importance to Douglas, although it did provide some employment to local workers.

The fact that most PP&L management personnel chose to live in Glenrock served to heighten the inter-community rivalry between Glenrock and Douglas citizens who favored growth. Although PP&L personnel took an active role in Glenrock, entering local politics and school activities, and the company was reported to have provided assistance in the development of single-family houses for management personnel, few incidents of company interaction with Douglas were noted. However, the presence of the power plant and mine substantially increased the assessed valuation of the county.

2.4 Agriculture and Other Sectors

Agriculture in Converse County has been declining relative to other sectors of the economy. As Table 2-1 indicates, agricultural employment declined by 21 percent from 1950 to 1960 and by 16 percent from 1960 to 1970. At the same time, employment in mining increased by 57.7 percent from 1960 to 1970 -- from 196 to 309 workers. Increases in employment in construction and finance, insurance, and real estate also occurred. These changes indicate a general shift in the economic base of the county away from agriculture, although by 1970, agriculture (including forestry and fisheries) still constituted the largest single sector with 22.7 percent of total employment.

2.5 Relationship to Other Communities

Historically, Douglas was one of the major towns in Wyoming, a position which resulted in close and powerful links between the community and the state.

The two major Converse County communities, Douglas and Glenrock, developed very differently, largely because of differences in their geographic location relative to other population centers and to mineral resources. The town of Douglas became the service and administrative center for the county and the surrounding ranchers. Glenrock, because

TABLE 2-1

Distribution of Employment by Industry
Converse County
1950, 1960, 1970

Industry	Employment			Percent of Total Employment			Percent Change 1950-60 1960-70
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	755	595	500	34.8	24.8	22.7	-21.2 -16.0
Mining	203	196	309	9.8	8.1	14.1	-3.9 57.7
Construction	167	192	200	7.7	8.0	9.1	15.0 4.8
Manufacturing	138	54	57	6.4	2.2	2.6	-60.9 5.0
Transportation, Communication, Public Utilities	121	215	88	5.6	8.9	3.8	77.7 -61.9
Wholesale and Retail Trade	394	497	430	15.8	20.7	19.6	49.5 -13.5
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	35	42	53	1.6	1.7	2.4	20.6 27.2
Services	307	488	453	14.1	20.3	20.6	59.0 -7.2
Government	102	128	112	4.7	5.3	5.1	25.5 -18.5
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	2,172	2,407	2,197	100.0	100.0	100.0	10.8 -8.7

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Employment by Industry, 1940-1970, Table 7, p. 506.

of its proximity to Casper and the major oil and uranium fields, developed much more as an industrial community, although it was able to support a little commercial development. Casper was viewed as a powerful economic rival by business owners in both Douglas and Glenrock; at the same time that it was recognized as a regional resource. Rivalry between Casper and Douglas and between Douglas/Glenrock and Converse County was reported to have been high. Little cooperation between the county and town governments existed prior to the mid-1970s. Also, the growth and development of Casper, caused by the oil development in the early part of the century, affected the growth of Douglas and Glenrock.

The insistence by the two towns that Converse County establish two separate school districts rather than a single, consolidated district during the statewide school consolidation effort in the early 1970s, was mentioned as one example of the perceived differences and rivalry between the two communities. (Only three counties in Wyoming have more than one school district.) Despite a continued rivalry between the two districts, a mutual agreement was reached that the school district boundaries would be adjusted as necessary to equalize per-student assessed valuation. This process had worked effectively since the two consolidated districts were formed in about 1972.

2.6 Demographic Characteristics

2.6.1 General Population Trends

Between 1940 and 1980, Converse County and Douglas experienced alternating periods of decline and growth. The county's population increased rapidly during the 1970s, largely as a result of increased energy development. The population trends in Converse County and Douglas are shown in Table 2-2. From 1950 to 1970, there was a net out-migration from Converse County. During the decade of the 1970s there was net out-migration from Converse County in only one year; over the ten-year period, net in-migration was substantial, reversing the previous trends.

TABLE 2-2

Douglas and Converse County Population
1950 to 1980

Year	Douglas Population	Glenrock Population	Converse County	
			Population	Percent Change
1950	2,544	1,110	5,933	
1960	2,822	1,584	6,366	7
1970	2,677	1,515	5,938	-7
1980	6,030	2,736	14,069	57

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population and Housing Unit Costs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) 1950-1980.

The Converse County population is distributed among three incorporated areas. Both historically and at the time of the study, Douglas was the largest town in the county; its proportion of total county population decreased slightly from 45.1 percent in 1970 to 42.8 percent in 1980.

Converse County covers 4,146 square miles. As a result of the population growth in 1970s, the county's population density rose from 1.43 people per square mile in 1950 to 3.39 people per square mile in 1980.

2.6.2 Age and Sex Composition

The substantial out-migration that occurred during the 1950s and 1960s influenced the age distribution of the county. In 1960, 10.6 percent of the population was 65 years or older, compared to 7.8 percent of the state population. In 1970, 12.8 percent of Converse County's population was 65 or over, compared to 9.1 percent. for the state. The median age in Converse County in 1970 was 31.4 years, 4.1 years higher than the state average. The age distribution figures for the town of Douglas shown in Table 2-3, illustrate the concentration of elderly in the town in 1970, a characteristic of the community that was often stressed by residents.

The large in-migration of workers of prime working age (25-44) and their families caused a substantial shift in the age distribution between 1970 and 1980, increasing the proportion of young adults and younger children in the county population.

2.6.3 Ethnic and Social Diversity

According to the 1960 and 1970 censuses, Converse County's population was almost exclusively (over 99 percent) white. Protestant churches predominated, although Catholic and LDS (Mormon) were also present. A number of the original settlers were from England. The first three churches established in the community were First Table 2-3

TABLE 2-3

Distribution of Population by Age, Race, and Place of Residence
Converse County, Wyoming, and the United States
1970

	Converse County		Wyoming		United States	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Age Distribution						
Under 5	418	7.0	28,372	8.5	17,159,337	8.4
5-9	704	10.1	33,857	10.2	19,956,247	9.8
10-14	704	11.9	36,565	11.0	20,789,468	10.2
15-19	598	9.2	33,229	10.0	19,070,348	9.4
20-24	291	4.9	24,807	7.5	16,371,021	8.1
25-29	324	5.5	21,498	6.5	13,476,993	6.6
30-34	338	5.7	18,630	5.6	11,430,436	5.6
35-39	321	5.4	18,457	5.6	11,106,851	5.5
40-44	388	6.5	19,837	6.0	11,980,954	5.9
45-49	352	5.9	19,338	5.8	12,115,939	6.0
50-54	334	5.6	17,899	5.4	11,980,954	5.5
55-59	292	4.9	16,197	4.9	9,913,028	4.9
60-64	276	4.6	13,526	4.0	8,616,784	4.2
65 and over	758	12.8	30,204	9.0	20,065,502	9.9
Median Age	31.3		27.2		28.1	
Ethnic Distribution						
White	5,888	99.2	323,024	97.2	177,748,975	87.5
Nonwhite	50	0.8	9,392	2.8	25,462,951	12.5
TOTAL POPULATION	5,938	100.0	332,416	100.0	203,211,926	100.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of the Population: Characteristics of the Population, Wyoming, United States. (Tables 19, 20, 34, 35, 49, and 50).

Congregational (1887), First Methodist (1888), and Christ Episcopal (1888). The community had a minority population with Spanish surnames, primarily of Mexican origin. A relatively small number of these residents had lived in the town of Douglas for a number of years. However, during the 1970s, an increasing number of Hispanics entered the county to work on area ranches.

Both the town of Douglas and Converse County remained almost exclusively Caucasian during the 1960-1980 period, with whites comprising over 99 percent of the population of both units (see Table 2-3). The vast majority of Converse County residents were of native parentage (90.6 percent in 1970), with only 2 percent of the population foreign-born in 1970. County residents of foreign stock were primarily German, Swedish, and Mexican.

At the time of the study in 1981, the pioneer history of the area was still extremely relevant to residents of the community, since many longtime residents were either pioneers or had relatives who were among the original settlers. The harshness of the climate and the difficulty of economic subsistence in the semi-arid climate for ranchers, business owners, and wage workers exerted a marked influence on the outlook of longtime residents.

Because Douglas was a small, homogeneous community, there was not much diversity in values and outlooks on life prior to the influx of the new population during the mid-1970s. The traditional agricultural base of the community resulted in the predominance of conservative agricultural values. Strong adherence to the work ethic was taken for granted in Douglas, with an emphasis on a "hard day's work for an honest day's pay." Despite the magnitude of growth that occurred in Douglas between 1970 and the time of the study in 1981, it appeared that adherence to the protestant work ethic had not lessened substantially, and it was not likely to in the foreseeable future.

3. PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH DEVELOPMENT AND CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

3.1 Introduction

Between 1970 and 1980, energy projects in Converse County continued to expand and develop, and new projects were instituted. A summary of these projects is presented below for coal-, uranium-, oil-, and gas-related projects. Given the events that occurred in Douglas between 1965 and 1980, the study period was defined as 1970-80.

3.2 Description of Energy-related Projects

3.2.1 Coal-related Projects

The Dave Johnston Power Plant is located about six miles east of Glenrock on the North Platte River. The \$9.3 million, 750-MW facility is composed of four units. Unit 1 came into operation in 1959, followed in 1961 by Unit 2, in 1964 by Unit 3, and in 1972 by Unit 4. The sponsor of the project is PP&L, a Washington-based utility with numerous subsidiaries which earlier had purchased the local Glenrock and Douglas utilities. In addition to its regular service offices, PP&L maintained a project office at the plant site in Glenrock. The major community-related activity undertaken by PP&L was the organization and sponsorship (through purchase guarantees) of housing for its employees. PP&L participated in the Converse County industrial association that provided information about industry and promoted planning and community preparation for growth. The association was particularly active in the mid-1970s.

The Dave Johnston Coal Mine, located fourteen miles north of Glenrock, is owned by PP&L but is operated by Northern Energy Resources Corporation (NERCO). Approximately 40 percent of those employed at the mine and the power plant were residents of Glenrock or Casper; only about 10 to 15 percent of the work force were Douglas residents. Mine operations began in 1958.

3. PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH DEVELOPMENT AND CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

DEVELOPMENT AND CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

3.2.2 Uranium-related Projects

A number of uranium mines and mills were developed in the 1970s. Overall, about 50 percent of the uranium work force were residents of Douglas. The recent downturn in the uranium market, which resulted in shut downs and loss of employment and company purchases, had a substantial effect on the Douglas economy and community residents.

During the 1970s, Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation had both a surface and an underground mine in operation in Converse County. The Bill Smith underground uranium mine, located northwest of Douglas, began operations in 1976. Kerr-McGee maintained an office at the mine site but did not establish a permanent corporate office in either Douglas or Glenrock. When the slowdown in the uranium industry occurred in 1979, the mine was placed on standby status with severe cutbacks in manpower. In addition to the Bill Smith mine, Kerr-McGee operated two open pit mines. In 1980 the surface mines produced 128,603 tons and employed sixty-eight people. In late 1980, these mines were also placed on standby status. No major public/community actions by Kerr-McGee were identified.

Exxon Minerals Company developed one open pit, one solution (in situ), and one underground uranium mine in Converse County. Their activities were located about twenty-three miles northwest of Douglas. The Highland Uranium Operation (open pit and solution) started construction in 1970 and went into operation in 1972. The complex produced 921,000 tons and employed 612 workers in 1980, making it the largest uranium employer in Converse County. The Buffalo Shaft mine produced 136,000 tons in 1980. These mines were also affected by the slowdown in the uranium industry.

Bear Creek Uranium Company, formed by Rocky Mountain Energy (RME) and owned jointly by Southern California Edison and Union Pacific, began construction on the Bear Creek Mine and Mill in 1975-1976, with operations starting in 1977. The project is located northwest of Douglas. During the construction period, RME assisted in the development of housing in Douglas by providing purchase guarantees for single-family

housing units to the developer. In 1980, RME donated \$13,000 from its Union Pacific Foundation to several community facilities in Glenrock and Douglas: Douglas Youth Recreation, \$2,000; Douglas Fire Department, \$1,000; Converse County Child Care Center, \$2,000; and Converse County Memorial Hospital, \$6,000.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), with United Nuclear Corporation (UNC), developed the Golden Eagle underground mine and mill at the Morton Ranch site twenty-two miles northwest of Douglas. The mine was operational in 1975. The work force rose from 30 in 1975 to 168 in 1979 before falling to 79 in 1980. At the time of the study, TVA had just deferred action on an additional surface mine and mill operation to be started by 1983. The decision by TVA to halt construction on all its nuclear power plants may affect the long-term future of this proposed mine.

Teton Exploration Company, in association with United Nuclear Corporation and NERCO, developed a small, pilot in-situ mine located northeast of Glenrock. This mine began operation in 1980. Employment at the project in 1979 and 1980 was between forty and fifty people.

3.2.3 Oil and Gas-related Projects

Throughout the 1970s, the oil and gas deposits in Converse County were being developed. The deposits in the eastern portion of the state were the focus of much activity in the mid- to late-1970s, in response to national pricing regulations which made it advantageous to develop "new" oil and gas. No accurate estimate of the work force associated with this development was available.

The Phillips gasoline plant located just outside of Douglas was initiated in 1970. Throughout the decade of the 1970s, the plant, along with Phillips construction company, employed twenty to twenty-five people.

Glenrock Refinery, Inc. purchased the Glenrock petroleum refinery, which had opened in 1979. In 1980, the refinery employed thirty-five people, twenty of whom were residents of Glenrock.

3.3 Chronology of Major Events, Issues, and Actions

In 1970, Douglas was just beginning to feel the impact of rapid population growth and to experience the consequences of large increases in assessed valuation. The majority of the energy production activities which affected Douglas occurred during the early 1970s.

Most of the energy activity that occurred in Converse County involved the development and operation of mines, mills, and wells. No single project involved the employment of more than about 500 workers, and the labor force requirements remained relatively constant from construction to operation. Consequently, Douglas experienced continued growth as new projects were added during the 1974-80 period, but few major fluctuations occurred in the size of the energy development work force until the 1980-81 period, when all uranium activities reduced employment in response to drastically falling uranium prices.

In addition to the impact of the projects that were actually initiated, during the 1970s, Douglas was faced with the prospect of a major expansion in coal development activity. In 1972-73, Panhandle Eastern began negotiating for the construction of a major coal-to-gas conversion facility near Douglas. In the mid-1970s, the Bureau of Land Management embarked on the assessment process in preparation for the leasing of large numbers of coal tracts in the Converse County portion of the Powder River Basin. The uncertainty associated with coal development increased in 1975 when Panhandle Eastern decided to postpone development efforts, and again in 1977 when the BLM decided to recommend that coal in Campbell rather than Converse County be offered for lease. (This decision was never acted upon because the entire process was challenged in court.) However, new coal-related projects were proposed, and old projects were recycled. In 1981, a number of proposals for coal development in Converse County were being considered: the WyCoalGas

(Panhandle Eastern) synfuels project (with a peak construction phase work force estimated at 2,600), the NERCO Antelope Mine (with a peak construction phase work force of 370), several additional uranium mines (TVA and Kerr-McGee), a mine and 1,500 MW power plant (Tri-State), and the potential for BLM coal leasing in Converse County as a result of the Regional Coal Team's recommendations for the Powder River Basin.

Converse County was not alone in experiencing the renewed interest and activity in energy development. Gillette to the north and Rock Springs and Green River to the southwest had experienced very intensive energy development from the mid-1960s into the 1970s. Consequently, the prospect of a major energy-driven boom in Douglas was considered a very real possibility by both state officials and community residents during the early 1970s.

In 1970, Douglas did not appear well-prepared for major growth. Both the county and the town had experienced population decline since 1960, and the town was small (2,677 people out of a county population of 5,938) and strongly oriented toward agriculture. The town, the county, and the school district were all relatively poor, with few new or supplementary facilities: the county courthouse needed replacement, the school district needed new schools, and the community had no recreational facilities or community center. Neither the town nor the county had adequate land use or zoning regulations or a specific plan to guide development. Both the town and county lacked full-time or professional administrators and had neither the funds nor the organizational structure to utilize professional planners. In addition, the highly conservative citizenry had indicated a reluctance to undertake expensive construction projects or to accept "nontraditional" educational or social programs. (In 1970, residents voted down a bond issue for school construction, and county officials were unsympathetic to requests for county funds for social programs such as day-care.)

In 1970-72, the community experienced a surge in population that added almost 600 people to the town of Douglas and about 1,600 people to

Converse County. This was followed by a hiatus until 1974, after which population increased rapidly until 1980. By 1980, Douglas had a population of 6,030 (125 percent more than in 1970), and Converse County had a population of 14,070 (almost 137 percent above the 1970 figure).

A new school superintendent was hired in 1970, and the school board, the superintendent, and the community entered into a protracted struggle over the design, location, and necessity for new schools. Only in 1975 did the community finally vote to approve a bond issue for the construction of a new elementary school, a new high school, and a recreation center. By this time, the tax base and population of the community had substantially increased, and continued growth seemed virtually certain.

In 1975 and again in 1978, interest rates increased dramatically nationwide. For Douglas, in the midst of major population growth, these changes caused additional uncertainty and difficulty as the price of money affected type, design, and process of housing construction. The inadequate supplies and high cost of housing were issues which effected the entire community throughout the decade, prompting many of the new regulations imposed by local government during this period. During the early 1970s, poorly designed and poorly regulated trailer courts were developed on the outskirts of Douglas. The location of large numbers of people outside the boundaries of the town created problems in service provision, annexation, and legislative control.

In the early and mid-1970s, Converse County was the subject of several studies on subdivision development and land use, as well as the focus of considerable attention from the state. State and federal pressures were applied to counties and communities to develop planning capabilities and land use regulations. Legislation was passed at the state level to promote local planning and increase local and state control over energy development and its effects on communities. In 1973, the state of Wyoming passed legislation authorizing counties to impose an optional 1 percent sales and use tax; in 1974, it passed the Joint Powers Act, which provided local governments with a mechanism for

collaboration on issues of mutual interest; and in 1975, it enacted industrial siting legislation which increased state and local control over the terms of large-scale project siting in the state.

Initially, Converse County and Douglas resisted these changes. In 1972, a county-wide zoning plan was soundly defeated after lengthy and intense debate. However, when the evidence of growth became clear, the county and town responded, initiating substantial organizational changes. In 1974, two professional planners were hired to organize and staff the Converse Area Planning Office. In 1975, as mentioned above, the voters approved the establishment of a community recreation center to be administered by the school district. In 1976, the town of Douglas adopted its first comprehensive land use plan, passed an ordinance creating the position of town administrator, and hired a professional administrator from Colorado to fill this position. Faced with increasing housing shortages and problems with water supply, in 1976 the county adopted subdivision and development regulations which limited tract development in the county to specified growth centers, thus reducing the pressure on agricultural land and helping to reduce leap-frog development. In 1978, the county adopted a general land use plan which further restricted subdivision development.

Major features of the 1976-78 rapid growth period were: (1) the reorganization and replacement of the entire Douglas Public Works Department in 1977 following an employee walk-out and (2) increased collaboration between the county and the town as the community organized to provide solid waste disposal, new water supplies and storage facilities, and more stringent controls over commercial and residential developments.

3.4 Summary

During the mid-1970s, the community experienced more growth than it could readily accommodate. In response, the community took decisive action to increase its administrative ability to control and direct that growth. Because of the perceived negative consequences to the community

of an even greater acceleration in growth, and citizen indications of opposition, community officials and residents encouraged the BLM to delay the leasing of Converse County federal coal reserves. Reasons for the requested delay were inability of the community to provide adequate infrastructure and to integrate additional newcomers. Community leaders then took aggressive actions to provide needed facilities, to impose regulations which alleviated the cost of growth being placed on the community, and to encourage residents to respond actively to the changes that were occurring. To a large extent, these efforts appeared successful. By 1980, both community residents and officials indicated that additional growth would be manageable and welcomed and, generally, that active plans had been undertaken to prepare the community for this growth. The momentum and expectation for additional growth had been established during the late 1970s.

At the time of the study (1970-80), community residents and officials were again experiencing heightened levels of uncertainty as they tried to determine appropriate community and individual actions in view of the employment reductions at the uranium mines/mills and the uncertain future of the plans for new, federally-controlled projects, such as the synfuels project.

4. CHANGES IN DIFFERENTIATION

4.1 Introduction

Differentiation is a measure and characteristic of complexity and diversity. An undifferentiated community would be one in which all residents share similar qualities, engage in similar activities, share community responsibilities equally, and hold common beliefs. Differentiation is highly correlated with the size of a community, though economic, cultural, and historical factors are also influential.

The degree of differentiation in a community is important because it affects the community's ability to respond and its manner of response to the demands of energy development. It shapes the types of issues or problems that arise in a community, as well as the experience and skills available for response.

This section reviews the changes that occurred in the political, economic, and social differentiation of Douglas over the study period and discusses how they were related to energy development. It also discusses how the changes in these aspects of differentiation affected the ability of the community to respond, the distribution of effects among community residents, and the relationship of residents to the community.

4.2 Political Differentiation

The following three aspects of political differentiation are considered:

- 1) Changes in the complexity or diversity of the political structure or governmental organization of the community
- 2) Changes in the complexity or diversity of the legislative environment and governmental procedures of the community
- 3) Changes in the diversity of political position-holders over the study period

4.2.1 Political Structure and Governmental Organization

Although the basic political structure of Douglas remained intact over the study period (1970-1980), there was considerable expansion and elaboration of the internal structure of the three major political bodies affecting the community: the Converse County government, the government of the town of Douglas, and the school district, each of which is discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Converse County

Although the structure of the county government did not change substantially between 1970 and 1980 -- the same commission and department structure existed throughout the period -- a number of new responsibilities and collaborative/coordinative bodies were formed during this decade. Of particular importance to this study were the county planning commission, the joint powers board, the impact task force, the public health department and board, an animal control agency, and the city-county planning office. During this same period, only one significant department -- public welfare and social services -- was eliminated from the county's jurisdiction. In addition to specific new agencies or bodies, the county also added significantly to its commitments in terms of fire protection, sanitary landfill, senior citizens services, day-care services, and mental health services.

As a result of the increased work load and responsibility, the position of county commissioner was assigned a fixed salary of \$1,000 per month in 1980, and the staff of the county government increased substantially. The increase in size caused internal modification in structure, requiring more formal organization and administration. The increases in responsibility and size corresponded with increases in specialization and professionalism. In 1974, for example, a professional planner was hired, and in 1980, several lawyers were engaged.

4.2.1.2 Town of Douglas

A similar, though somewhat more fundamental change occurred in the governmental structure of the town of Douglas during the 1970s. In addition to the development of mechanisms or bodies to participate in the joint town-county activities mentioned above, the town of Douglas also added two professional public administrators. These professionals changed the basic organizational structure of the government, redistributing governmental control from elected to appointed positions. The town maintained its mayor/city council form of government, however. As in the county, the size of most departments increased and the skill requirements for the administrative/leadership positions were raised (for example, public works and police).

4.2.1.3 Converse County School District No. 1

In 1972, a major reorganization in the structure of the school system took place following the passage of state legislation requiring consolidation of the school districts within each Wyoming county. In 1971-72, in most counties, consolidation was complete, with the entire county merging to form a single district. Because of the deep rivalry between Douglas and Glenrock, two school districts were retained in Converse County.¹ Consolidated School District No. 1 was created, governed by a six-member board and administered by a single superintendent of schools. This structure remained essentially unchanged over the study period, although there was a marked increase in the number of employees in the system. The school systems in Converse County traditionally maintained responsibility for much of the community recreational program. However, the opening of the new community

¹According to school officials and residents who had participated in the battle to establish two districts in the face of severe pressure for a single unified district, approval was based on the assurance that the two districts could and would cooperate to establish a mutually agreeable and equitable mechanism for adjusting district tax revenues without perpetual conflict. This was done by agreeing to adjust school district boundaries to equalize per pupil revenues.

recreation and adult education center in 1980 created an additional formal administrative unit in the system, substantially increasing staff requirements and responsibilities.

4.2.2 Legislative Context and Governmental Procedures

A number of federal and state legislative actions were taken during the 1970s that were developed for or were applicable to controlling or moderating the problems of energy growth. In addition, the governments of Douglas and Converse County adopted a number of plans and regulations between 1970 and 1980. The most important were the establishment of new, cooperative governmental structures (such as the joint powers board) and regulations for controlling land use changes throughout the county.

The legislative changes resulted in increased governmental complexity and professionalism, which, in turn, led to additional legislation and/or regulation. For example, the employment of professional planners in Douglas led to the development of land use regulations. The enactment of the joint powers legislation at the state level encouraged and enabled the creation of a joint powers board and several offices and agencies within it. EPA, HUD and Farm Loan Board legislation encouraged the employment of personnel who had the knowledge, skill, and contacts to utilize the legislation to obtain grants or loans. In Douglas, the ability of the planner, the town administrator, and the school superintendent to obtain grant monies gave them the leverage to move a reluctant community toward greater complexity, higher service levels, firmer control, and to limit the adverse effects of growth.

The changes in structure and in law also changed the procedures required for citizen-government interactions. A strong effort was made to standardize and formalize these procedures, especially by the town administrator, in order to make them less case-specific and more equitable. Nevertheless, this greater governmental presence resulted in more complex and clearly specified procedures (for example, permits for building construction or land sales), and in a concomitant shift from

informal and somewhat casual requests for funds by department heads to the preparation of grant proposals and formal presentations to the county commissioners. This systematic, formal framework aided supporters of community day-care, senior citizens' services and other social programs in obtaining county funds; previously, they had been unable to get their position heard.

4.2.3 Political Officials and Staff

Traditionally, the only governmental or political positions held by outsiders in Douglas were in medicine or education. During the 1970s, the creation of employment opportunities with skill and experience requirements which virtually precluded local candidates brought newcomers with more varied characteristics into local government. In Douglas, key town administration, public works, police department, planning office, and public and mental health positions were filled by recruiting professionals from outside the community. These people not only came from a variety of residential and professional backgrounds, they also tended to broaden the value orientation and age range of influential position-holders in the town. A number of the newcomers were from urban areas (town administrator, police chief, mental health director, public works director). Many were in their twenties or thirties, significantly younger than most previous holders of community decision-making positions.

An important consequence of this change in the demographic characteristics of the new position-holders was its effect on the relationship between community residents and their government. Longtime residents were faced with three changes in governmental complexity:

- 1) New positions (often professional and powerful)
- 2) New people (usually outsiders with no family ties or community-linked history)
- 3) New procedures, some of which were designed precisely to moderate or eliminate the individualistic and personalized government-policy relationship which had previously existed

4.2.4 Relationship of Change to Energy Development

It is difficult to assess how much of the differentiation that occurred in the community's political organization was due directly to the presence of energy projects, particularly since the energy growth occurred a time of nationwide increases in governmental activity. Nevertheless, discussions with agency officials and several influential residents strongly indicated that a large proportion of the increase in local complexity and governmental size was due to the increase in revenues and population that resulted from energy development. For example, the former mayor, in office at the time the decision was made to hire a city administrator, clearly linked that decision to the impending energy-related population growth.¹

Analysis of demand and interviews in the community about the decision-making processes which resulted in much of the increased political differentiation indicated that, to a great extent, the impetus for differentiation was the real and perceived need of the community to respond to the demands of energy development. However, the response that was made resulted in substantially increased differentiation in all three dimensions identified above: structure, legislation and procedures, and position-holders.

4.2.5 Consequences of Political Differentiation

4.2.5.1 Ability to Respond

As indicated, an important cause of political differentiation and specialization in Douglas was the initiative taken by community leaders who recognized the need for administrative and legislative structures and skilled personnel to guide and control the community government's

¹These community leaders indicated that the examples of Gillette and Rock Springs, where rapid growth began about five years earlier than in Douglas, provided an important impetus for Douglas leaders to face the problems directly, plan ahead, and take decisive community action.

response to the unfolding energy development. There was general agreement by both longtime and newcomer leaders that the ability of the community and the state to change political structure, enact legislation, and hire professional and qualified staff was critical to their ability to control and direct the growth of the community. Specifically, the increased differentiation increased the response capability of the community. All of the influential position-holders who were interviewed felt that these changes had, in fact, strongly increased the community's ability to respond to further growth and/or energy development, while limiting the opportunities for individual interests to benefit at the expense of the community as a whole.

4.2.5.2 Distribution of Effects

The distribution of the effects of energy development has two components. The first is the distribution of project effects to the community as a whole. The second is the distribution of those effects among community residents.

The principal distributive consequences of political differentiation in Douglas resulted from the following:

- 1) The ability of the community to put zoning and land use regulations in place and to enforce them
- 2) The decision to create and enforce policies which would shift the burden of development from the existing residents to the newcomers (for example, development requirements, and tap and hook-up fees)
- 3) An increased ability to plan, to budget, and to obtain funding assistance from outside the community

Although the increased differentiation did not itself cause these changes in distribution, it put in place persons and procedures which did.

Overall, these changes modified total project impacts on the community by creating a sense of control and by providing mechanisms to ensure adequate quality of residential and commercial development and efficiency in government. In Douglas, the increased differentiation

served to check and control the problems of conflict of interest by inserting into key decision-making roles outsiders whose allegiance did not lie with the local interest groups and who had a professional interest in promoting the well-being of the community.

The increased formality and legislative complexity of the political process improved the quality of development and ensured that the developers or the newcomers contributed fairly to municipal costs. More stringent application of building codes, the development of a conceptual plan for growth, and the inclusion of the county in joint governmental programs enhanced the quality of residential areas for newcomers and kept property taxes low for all community residents.

These changes caused a shift from the old, informal, personal manner of operation to a more formal, impersonal one. Based on interviews with both longtime residents and newcomers, the consequences of these changes were felt most strongly by the longtime residents who perceived a shift in their role in the community and regretted the loss of the old-time familiarity. Because they were accustomed to the previous manner of operation which had become part of their definition of the community and their role in it, the shift required greater adjustment from longtime residents than from newcomers.

4.2.5.3 Relationship among Residents and Relationship of Residents to the Community

Interviews in Douglas revealed several areas in which longtime residents perceived that their relationship to the community had been affected by changes in the community's political differentiation. One of these areas was the relationship between longtime residents and community influentials. As indicated above, a number of very key positions -- those which community residents tended to identify as important decision-making positions and with which they interacted in the course of civic or public activities (town administrator, head of public works, police chief, mental health director, town and county planners) -- were filled by outsiders. From the perspective of the longtime residents,

the presence of these newcomers combined with perceived differences between the newcomers and themselves and the lack of mutual personal familiarity substantially reduced the sense of linkage longtime residents felt with community leadership. This reduced their sense of recognition and integration into the community and, along with the more formalized governmental procedures that developed over the study period, was reported to have created a personally significant change in perceived community role by longtime residents. Almost all longtime residents who were interviewed considered these changes a negative consequence of community growth.

In addition, functions and mechanisms of government were generally perceived by longtime residents not in decision-making positions to have changed and become more impersonal and unaccommodating. Citizens had to familiarize themselves with new, formal procedures, and follow them, rather than simply contacting the right person in order to get something done. This aspect of change was mentioned specifically in conjunction with law enforcement. Policemen had previously been friends who could be called upon to help and to solve whatever problem had precipitated the call. At the time of the study, they were viewed by a number of the longtime residents who were interviewed as having a separate agenda of their own, and as being almost as likely to intimidate or frustrate the caller as to help them.

Few newcomers commented upon these affective aspects of political differentiation, although several noted the rapid shift from informal to formal procedures that occurred after the hiring of the town administrator. These were mostly people involved in government, either as agency personnel or volunteers. Most of the newcomers interviewed felt the changes had been beneficial, increasing efficiency and promoting equity by encouraging better management and planning and allowing decisions to be made from more solid, visible information. If the changes were noted at all, most newcomers indicated that the reduction in closed, informal decision-making increased their ability to participate and be included in governmental activities and processes, and to obtain access to decision-makers and resources.

The changes in political differentiation did not appear to have caused substantial change in the relationship between different groups in the community aside from the relationship between residents and government personnel.

4.3 Economic Differentiation

Three aspects of economic differentiation are addressed in this section. The first is the change in the composition and diversity of employment. This is important because of the different occupational and lifestyle characteristics associated with employment in different industrial sectors and because change in composition of employment can constitute a shift in the economic base and economic system of a community, which affects the relationship of the community to the outside world. The second is the change in the composition and diversity of businesses located in the community. This is examined because increased availability of a variety of goods and services has been identified as a potential benefit of energy development, as well as a potential threat to the small-town, locally owned businesses present in the community prior to impact. The third is the change in the characteristics of the personnel and staff of the businesses located in the community. As with the change in structure of the local political organizations, structural change in the local economy resulted in personnel and staff changes that affected the demographic composition of the community and resident-business relationships.

4.3.1 Employment

The purpose of this section is to discuss the differentiation of local employment. Prior to the 1970s, and despite the energy development that had occurred and was occurring in the county, the economy of Douglas remained based on agriculture. According to residents present in the community during the 1950s and 1960s, local employment opportunities were perceived as very limited and as resulting primarily from familial ties. (Douglas, unlike many small towns, had a strong tradition of familial inheritance of retail stores.) According to

several business owners, the local bank, the sole bank in the community for an extended period of time (1946 to 1964), had taken an active and effective role in reducing fluctuation in the businesses present in the community. The bank accomplished this by adjusting its lending policies according to the prevailing economic situation: more money was made available to businesses during hard times (to prevent bankruptcy) and loans were made more difficult to obtain during good times (to prevent overexpansion).

In 1970, the entire labor force in Converse County was 2,600 people. By 1980, it had risen to 7,952 people. As shown in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, employment opportunities in Converse County in the industrial sector underwent considerable change between 1970 and 1980. The changes occurred both in the composition of employment, primarily a shift from agriculture to mining, and in the distribution of employment among sectors, with fewer sectors employing a higher percentage of workers in 1980 than in 1970 (the index of dissimilarity of employment from an equal distribution increased from 25.6 in 1970 to 34.9 in 1980). According to the latter calculation, there was consolidation of employment by industrial sector between 1970 and 1980, which indicates a reduction in the differentiation of the economic structure, and increased dependence upon a single sector of the economy. There is little possibility that the magnitude of growth experienced by Converse County could have occurred without a major shift in sectoral dominance. The rapid expansion of employment in the mining sector and the decline of the farm proprietors sector constituted a substantial proportion of this change.

4.3.2 Businesses

The population growth and the particular nature of the economic expansion brought in some of the country's largest corporations and business organizations (Exxon, TVA, United Nuclear, Phillips) as well as some of the larger franchises and chain stores (Holiday Inn, Kentucky Fried Chicken). An inventory of businesses present in Douglas in 1970 and 1980 showed considerable expansion in both number and variety. Both the total number of establishments and the number of establishments

TABLE 4-1

Change In Industrial Sector Employment
Converse County, Wyoming

Percent Employment by Industry	Place of Residence			Place of Work		
	1970	1980	Percent Change	1970	1977	Percent Change
Farm Proprietors	13.3	3.1	-10.2	12.3	4.9	-7.4
Farm Labor	6.4	2.5	-3.9	5.9	3.8	-2.1
Mining	6.9	29.0	+22.1	6.4	22.7	+16.3
Construction	7.4	8.3	+0.9	6.9	10.2	+3.3
Manufacturing	0.6	0.9	+0.3	0.6	1.0	+0.4
TCPU	8.7	5.0	-3.7	9.0	8.1	-0.9
Wholesale Trade	1.2	1.6	-0.4	13.1	14.8	+1.7
Retail Trade	13.0	11.6	-1.4			
FIRE	2.1	2.2	+0.1	2.0	2.1	+0.1
Services	9.8	13.7	+3.9	9.0	6.6	-2.4
Government	15.4	11.6	-3.8	20.4	15.3	-5.1
Other	15.2	10.5	-4.7			
Ag. Services				0.8	0.8	0.0
Non-farm Proprietors				13.6	9.6	-4.0
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	2,341	7,809				

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System, April 1980; Mountain West Research, unpublished data based on U.S. Census and BEA data.

TABLE 4-2

Equality of Distribution of Employment
by Place of Residence among Sectors
Converse County, Wyoming

Sector	1970	Difference from Mean	1980	Difference from Mean
Farm Proprietors	13.3	+5.0	3.1	-5.2
Farm Labor	6.4	-1.9	2.5	-5.8
Mining	6.9	-1.4	29.0	+20.7
Construction	7.4	-0.9	8.3	0.0
Manufacturing	0.6	-7.7	0.9	-7.4
TCPU	8.7	+0.4	5.0	-3.3
Wholesale Trade	1.2	-7.1	1.6	-6.7
Retail Trade	13.0	+4.7	11.6	+3.3
FIRE	2.1	-6.2	2.2	-6.1
Services	9.8	+1.5	13.7	+5.4
Government	15.4	+7.1	11.6	+3.3
Other	15.2	+6.9	10.5	+2.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System, April 1980; Mountain West Research, unpublished data based on U.S. Census and BEA data.

supplying each type of basic domestic service increased between 1970 and 1980. The number of businesses with national ownership also increased substantially. A high percentage of these national businesses were directly associated with energy development. Many brought management personnel from outside the local area and the region, and thus served as a mechanism for introducing not only different businesses with different practices and procedures, but new and different people into the community as well.

One area of business expansion of particular importance to the local residents was an increase in the number of banks and financial institutions in Douglas. From 1946 to 1964, there had been only one bank in town. By 1980, there were three different banks, plus two savings and loans institutions. According to a number of local residents, this increased diversity decreased the control and dominant position that the single institution had attained in the financial and business activities of local residents.

Part of the increase in the number and the change in the types of businesses and employment in Douglas between 1970 and 1980 was directly caused by the presence of and employment by energy companies. Although the presence of large corporations was not entirely new to Douglas -- Pacific Power and Light, Burlington Northern, and Bell Telephone, for example, had been located in the area for some time -- the number of such corporations and their role in the economy was new. Compared to other energy development areas and to the forecasts for the development in Douglas during the 1970s, the greatest sectoral increase in employment occurred in mining (in this case uranium and oil and gas), a type of employment associated not only with major corporations, but also with long-term jobs and more stable residence patterns (aside from the oil and gas workers) than is commonly associated with the construction of large fixed-site conversion facilities.

In addition to the businesses and employment directly related to energy development, an increased population with more diverse consump-

tion patterns and increased buying power was credited with much of the increase in demand for goods and services which encouraged additional business expansion, both in terms of numbers and types of establishments. The effect of the population growth and growth forecasts on governmental employment was noted previously.

4.3.3 Personnel and Staff

The changes that occurred in the Douglas economy during this period were accompanied by a comparable change in the personnel and staff of local businesses and corporations. Indeed, the majority of the newcomers and many of the retained longtime residents were present in the community directly because of the availability of new jobs, both those on the projects and those induced by the development. Massey, in his survey of newcomers in Douglas in 1976, found that 87 percent gave employment as the primary reason for moving to Douglas (Massey 1977).

The growth of the economy resulted in a more rapid expansion in wage and salary employment than in proprietorships, although the number of nonfarm proprietors did increase between 1970 and 1980. Nevertheless, several local business owners pointed out that the shift in employment structure had resulted in a substantial increase in the number and percentage of local residents and business managers who were newcomers and who had no real capital of their own invested in the community¹.

One other characteristic of the energy development in Converse County was the large number of corporations involved. No single utility or corporation (as in Wheatland, in Glenrock in the 1950s, or Colstrip) dominated the newcomers and the economy. Residents of Douglas, both old and new, generally had only a sketchy idea of the energy activity in the county, both in terms of companies involved and characteristics of the

¹This was said to be true not only for the business-related investments of corporate managers, but also for their home investments, since many of them had a guarantee of sale agreement with the corporation which minimized their risk and, therefore, their stake in the economic well-being of the community.

work force. As a consequence, personnel from no single energy company became dominant in local affairs or in the local economy.

4.3.4 Relationship of Change to Energy Development

Without cross-site comparison, it is not possible to separate out precisely which portions of the changes in economic structure and personnel were caused by the development of energy resources and which were caused by unrelated factors. However, it is evident that a very substantial part of the overall changes in the employment, business, and personnel characteristics that occurred in Douglas during the 1970s was either directly or indirectly the result of energy activity in the county.

4.3.5 Consequence of Economic Differentiation

4.3.5.1 Ability to Respond

The size and diversity of local economy prior to development had an influence on the ability of the community to attract and to provide for newcomers, particularly in the area of housing. According to interviews with local developers and school personnel, the availability of housing, schools, medical care, and recreational/commercial amenities were critical factors in the residential decisions of potential newcomers. Proximity to jobs was thought to be relatively more important to blue collar workers, while amenities were more important to management-level workers.

In addition, the characteristics of the employment that had traditionally been available locally determined, to a large extent, the size and qualifications of the local work force. This factor was important in determining the degree to which particular types and quantities of new jobs could be filled by local residents.

Douglas historically had a very limited local economy, both in terms of size and complexity. Consequently, all interviewees agreed that local youths typically were forced to leave the area to find employment

unless they could move into a position in a family-owned enterprise. The unavailability of jobs resulted in depletion of the local labor force, and in a large population of older people.

Because of the relatively static population, only limited business expansion was feasible, and there was little market for residential development. The rapid growth period of the 1970s changed the economic prospects and greatly altered the range of economic opportunities in the community.

An initial factor in the ability of the local business owners and managers to respond to this expanded market was a commitment to the previous system and a conservative outlook with a marked aversion to risk. According to local interviews, a number of the influential long-time resident business owners took a very cautious and conservative, almost oppositional, position with regard to economic growth and local expansion. It was not possible to clearly delineate how this attitude affected the ability of the existing local businesses to provide additional goods and services, and encouraged the entrance of outside competitors. Indeed, the nature of the response by local business owners was seen by local residents as equally, if not more, important to the community's ability to respond economically than availability of funds. The uncertainty associated with the future was also seen as an important factor because it served to reinforce the conservative response. This is not to say that none of the local business owners aggressively pursued the opportunities that were created by the expansion -- some locals were identified as having played a major, and aggressive role in the development of additional residential and commercial areas -- but rather, that many of the influential business leaders had ambivalent feelings about growth and change.

The actions of the energy companies were identified as an important component of the community's response, a change which can also be seen

as a consequence of the increased differentiation of the economic structure of the area. The energy companies affected the ability of the community to respond in two ways: first, by taking direct mitigative action through intervention in the local economy; and second, by providing information, studies, and technical assistance to the decision-makers in the community. Only a few examples of the former were identified (such as provision or purchase guarantees for housing to enable/encourage local contractors to build additional residential units, and distribution of grant monies to various community activities). Although there may well be more instances of company aid to the community, residents generally did not identify major corporate actions of this type as having been important.

More clearly defined efforts were made by energy companies to encourage local planning and preparation to deal with growth. An industrial association was formed which pressed for an analysis of the necessary actions the community needed to take in order to deal with the administrative demands of rapid growth. The energy companies also sponsored a study on these issues to provide more pertinent and convincing information to the local residents and to encourage them to take positive action. Throughout development, energy personnel functioned more as advisors than leaders, accounting for their low visibility to community residents, who generally did not perceive much intervention by industry representatives.

As the economy diversified, the capability of the local businesses to respond quickly to larger demands increased, and a new norm of expansion and change rather than stability was established. Some business owners found these new demands not to their liking and sold out, but most of the long-established, locally owned stores remained in business and in family ownership.

4.3.5.2 Distribution of Effects

One of the frequently noted consequences of the expansion of Douglas' employment base was its effect on the employment opportunities for

local residents. The long-term nature of the economic and population growth provided both the opportunity and the incentive for local residents to obtain new, different, and frequently "better" jobs than would have been available without such differentiation of the economy. This was true both for local youths, who could prepare for jobs in the energy industries while in school, and for local residents employed in businesses whose personnel and market areas expanded in response to the growth. Although no specific data are available on the number of residents thus affected, a substantial proportion of those interviewed attested to this type of occupational advancement.

To some, especially longtime residents who had held an established position for some time before the complexity of the community was increased by the growth, the increase in responsibility and change of tasks was viewed with mixed emotions, including regret. For others, however, the new opportunities were viewed as an avenue for advancement and as a stimulating challenge.

As demonstrated by the economic analysis conducted by Mountain West Research for the WyCoalGas project (1981), the proportion of the economic activity generated by a basic activity (like energy development) that is captured in the local economy depends largely upon the size and complexity of the local economy: the larger and more diverse the local economy, the more money and business will remain in the local area. Despite the fact that Douglas continued to lose much business to Casper, local businesses increased their ability to provide goods and services, and consequently captured some of the business that would previously have accrued to Casper.

The diversification of the local economy altered the previous structure of employment, income flows, and business opportunities. The following section discusses some of the distributional implications of this aspect of economic differentiation.

Employment. Energy development activities created a demand in Douglas for workers with a new set of skills and experience. Especially early in the development period, this gave an advantage to outsiders who had acquired pertinent training and experience elsewhere. As the development period progressed, local residents were able to erode this advantage by obtaining entry-level jobs and working their way up or by obtaining the necessary formal training. Hiring policies of the energy companies located in Converse County were said to have encouraged the employment of local residents but within fairly narrow discretionary bounds. The need for rapid expansion of staff created opportunities for advancement more quickly than would otherwise have occurred. In a number of cases, this worked to the advantage of longtime residents, who were among the most senior employees. In other cases, the very rapid increase in specialization and alteration of business structure created a need for particular skills more suddenly than current employees could acquire them, with the consequence that local employees were passed over for outsiders. Both cases occurred in Douglas, and it is not clear what the net effect was in terms of the distribution of job opportunities between newcomers and longtime residents.

Income. The increased economic activity in the Douglas area was primarily resource-based. Consequently, a major share of the income generated by the new economic activities went to those who owned the resources. This meant that the energy companies and ranchers, plus some townspeople who had owned the rights to the minerals (and to a lesser extent the land) upon which the development was based, reaped the most immediate, and generally the largest, income gains. It is a well-accepted fact in Douglas that many of the ranchers in the northern portion of Converse County received major income benefits from the energy development. In some cases, the energy companies which purchased the mineral rights and/or were extracting and selling the minerals were private corporations, but in most cases they were large, multinational corporations. People who had, or who early-on obtained, real estate holdings in strategic areas near Douglas also made large profits. In

general, less windfall income was attributed to local business establishments or to workers, even those in high paying energy related jobs. As mentioned earlier, the rapid expansion of skilled jobs in the mid-1970s made it difficult for local workers to compete effectively, but interviews in the community indicated that over the long run, by 1981, local residents were considered to be competitive with outsiders for highly paid, skilled, energy-related jobs, although corporate management positions still went primarily to outsiders.

One consequence of the inability of the local economy to respond adequately to demand is the creation of shortages and inflation. In Douglas, this occurred primarily in the area of housing, particularly single-family homes. Because the growth period in Converse County corresponded with the period of rapid inflation in the national economy, it is difficult to determine from interviews with local residents the extent to which observed inflation in costs of goods and services was due to inflationary pressures of growth as opposed to national trends. Based on a survey of supermarket prices conducted in March 1981, grocery prices in Douglas were comparable to those in Billings, Montana, a regional center. Aside from health care and housing, no major shortages in availability of private sector goods and services were noted.

4.3.5.3 Relationship among Residents and Relationship of Residents to the Community

As discussed in section 4.2.1, the increased technical skills needed to apply for the jobs created by the expanding energy sector often resulted in the defacto exclusion of local residents. Consequently, persons with different characteristics, backgrounds, and affiliations were recruited and/or migrated into the community. Of particular note in this regard were the management personnel of the energy corporations (and other national establishments) and the highly skilled crafts-workers. Together, these two types of jobs comprised the majority of the high-paying positions that were created in the economy, most of which were initially filled by newcomers.

As with the creation of new, specialized jobs in the political arena, the simultaneous introduction of new positions and different people resulted in a substantial change in the day-to-day workings of the local economy. Few people commented on this, however, aside from noting the changes in clerical/sales personnel. Therefore, it did not appear that this change was as immediate and central to residents' perception of community and their appropriate roles in it as were similar changes in the local government. The people who did mention this change were longtime residents rather than newcomers. A factor in the visibility and salience of this change may be the degree to which a single or a few companies are the source of the growth.

According to the interviews, most local residents felt that they and the community benefited from the location of franchise and chain stores in the community because they increased the variety and reduced the cost of goods and services. Longtime residents tended to stress the unpleasantness of shopping or dealing with businesses whose personnel did not recognize them and acknowledge their individuality. No one, however, mentioned discomfort with the unfamiliarity of new stores or businesses per se. Comments applied exclusively to the management and the staff. Very few newcomers made similar comments, and it was clear that they found it generally much less aggravating than the longtime residents to be required to show identification or to have their credentials checked.

A number of the longtime residents who were interviewed had family members who were employed by one or another of the energy companies. None indicated that the nature of the employer or of the jobs was an issue within the family, and most mentioned they were pleased that the person had gotten a "good" job and was therefore able to stay in the local area.

Ranchers more than any other group noted the impact of economic differentiation on personal and business interaction patterns, pointing out the different business tactics and styles that were introduced by

the energy companies and their subcontractors and agents. The need to deal with representatives of the decision-makers rather than the decision-makers themselves was noted as a different, and aggravating characteristic of the new economic structure.

Overall, however, given the magnitude of the changes that occurred in the structure of the local economy and in the organizational characteristics of the businesses present in the community, little emphasis was placed on economic differentiation by local residents. The principal area of change identified was with new and mutually unfamiliar clerical or sales staff, and this observation was generally limited to longtime residents.

4.4 Social Differentiation

This section discusses the changes that occurred in the demographic characteristics of the Douglas population and in the basis for the formation of social groups in Douglas over the study period. These relationships were complex and evolved continually over the study period. Nevertheless, they revealed some important aspects about the structure of Douglas and the relationship of individuals to the community.

4.4.1 Demographic Characteristics

Prior to development, the great majority of Douglas residents had lived in the community for many years. The relatively small size of the community (about 3,000 people) and the stability of family residences provided a basis for mutual familiarity among residents which was rich in its context, involving not only the individual, but friends and kin as well. Based on interviews with a number of longtime residents in Douglas, it appeared that prior to the study period, most residents felt it was important to be personally acquainted with all members of the community. A very common comment by longtime residents was that during the preproject period they had taken pride in the fact that they knew everyone in town and that everyone knew them. Most went out of their way to explain that they felt this was no longer true and to emphasize

that this change negatively affected their personal self-esteem. (Interestingly, a number also emphasized that they shared responsibility for this change because they had not made a sufficient effort to get to know the newcomers).

Prior to energy development, the density of kinship ties in the community of Douglas was high, and that kinship was not circumscribed within particular occupational groups. Many of the pioneer families in the community had members who were ranchers and members who were townspeople. Although information was available only through recollection, those interviewed indicated that, prior to the development period, the community residents were differentiated on the basis of family name, length of residence, property ownership, economic commitment to the community, and power in the community, with educational, occupational, or industrial status relatively unimportant. Because there was a small population of residents of Mexican origin, ethnicity was also a classification criteria but one of generally little significance. The most important groups prior to development were the ranchers (divided into large and small, pioneers and more recent arrivals), the merchants, the professionals (doctors, lawyers and school teachers who were distinguished as much by their lack of roots in the community as by their occupation), the Spanish-surname townspeople, and the remaining townspeople, (some of whom worked periodically as ranch hands), who were primarily wage-earners.

The predevelopment economic and demographic characteristics of the community explain how these social groupings created evolved. In 1960 and 1970, the median age in both Douglas (town) and Converse County was above that of the state and the nation and the percentage of the population in the 0-5, 16-24, and 25-44 age cohorts was below state and national levels. Douglas town, in particular, had an elderly population; 32.7 and 38.9 percent of the population was age 45 and over in 1960 and 1970, respectively (compared to 26.4 and 29.1 percent for the

state for the same years). In 1970, the proportion of females in the population (52.5 percent) was also high compared to the state as a whole.

In 1970, a relatively high proportion of the population age 25 and over (25.7 percent) had attended one or more years of college, compared with 21.3 percent in the United States. Given the disproportionate number of older residents in Douglas, this indicates a generally high level of education. Interviews in the community indicated that it had been very common for community youth to attend two or three years of college before returning home to take up ranching or to carry on the family business. This pattern tended to decrease the educational distance between the ranchers, merchants, and professionals.

In 1970, and historically, Douglas/Converse County had experienced little ethnic diversity. In 1970, its population was over 99 percent white. The remainder were almost exclusively people with Spanish surnames, primarily from Mexico. This did not change substantially during the study period.

In both 1960 and 1970, over 70 percent of Converse County residents had lived in the county for five years or more, indicating an extraordinarily high degree of residential stability. Further reflecting a strong commitment to the community, in 1970, a high percentage of total employed persons (by place of work) in the county were proprietors (25.9 percent).

Little data are available to quantify the changes that occurred in the demographic characteristics of the population over the study period, although estimates of some variables have been made. Based on the magnitude of the population growth during the 1970-80 period, it is evident that the composition of the community shifted in terms of residential stability, with a much higher proportion that previously being relative newcomers at the end of the period than at the beginning. The in-migration of workers -- and their families -- shifted the age struc-

ture of the community, increasing the proportion of the very young and the prime working-age adults (25-44), and consequently reducing the proportion of elderly.

No data are available on the changes that occurred in the educational characteristics of the population, but review of the personnel staffing of the governmental agencies and consideration of the staff requirements of the energy companies suggested an increased number of the population with advanced degrees. The continued presence of migrant workers from Mexico and the in-migration of skilled workers, many with high school diplomas and some college and vocational experience, indicated that there may have been relatively little shift in the median years of education of the population, but that the range may have widened slightly. In addition, it also appeared that the increased demand for professional and managerial skills discussed in the previous two sections resulted in a population with a greater diversity of educational experience, both in terms of discipline and in terms of geographic base. (Interviews in the community pointed to a marked preference by local residents for schools in Casper, Laramie, and Ft. Collins.)

Without question, the occupational and industrial sector employment characteristics of the community population changed dramatically during the 1970s. Specific data on the current occupational composition of the population are not yet available, but the very rapid increase in the mining, construction, and TCPU sectors shifted the characteristics of employment so dramatically that the mix of detailed occupations followed by local residents must also have changed.

4.4.2 Social Grouping

As a result of the changes in the economic and demographic structure of the community described above, the patterns and bases of social groupings also changed. By 1981, when the study was conducted, several additional criteria for differentiating among community residents had become important. Length of residence and commitment to/affiliation

with the community, being more variable within the population than previously, had become important as discriminating variables. As the number of blue-collar workers increased, occupational/industrial distinctions previously unimportant or not applicable became useful in distinguishing residents. The large number of newcomers gave increased importance to the attribute of belonging to a pioneer family, and the divergance of affiliations and personal values and the diminished familiarity among residents encouraged the use of classification criteria in local residents' conceptualization of community social structure. These changes were more important for the distribution and attribution of esteem than for power.

Almost all of the longtime residents who were interviewed indicated that they had maintained their pregrowth friendships. Most, including respondents from all age categories, said that their closest friends continued to be other longtime residents. However, most were also careful to note that they were also on friendly terms with newcomers. There was consistent agreement among those interviewed that length of residence was of less importance to inclusion in community affairs and acquaintanceships than was a commitment to the community and a willingness to become involved.

Not surprisingly, in community interviews longtime residents reported higher mutual familiarity than newcomers. Although the sampling and interviewing method did not allow examination of the actual network patterns, the interviews indicated that adult friendships tended to exist between persons of similar residential duration, but that this was less true for school-age children. Again, although statistical data are lacking, the interviews revealed a high density of acquaintanceship among the ranchers, the longtime resident business, and the blue-collar families. In a number of cases, this was attributed to a dense network of kinship ties among these three groups, and to the fact that many of the ranching families had residences in town which increased their contact with townspeople. In addition, many shared a common high school experience.

Public relationships were affected by the influx of population. The loss of mutual familiarity in public encounters was mentioned repeatedly by longtime residents as one of the most notable social consequences of the energy development. "I used to know everyone, and now I don't know anyone" was a comment heard repeatedly during interviews with longtime residents, whether male or female, young or old. When pursued, most longtime respondents qualified this, saying that they still knew the people that they had known before, but that they knew only a small proportion of the newcomers, and that furthermore, they were unknown to all but a few newcomers. In general, longtime residents indicated that they did not see any way in which they could have substantially affected the decrease in familiarity since (except for the leaders) they were not in a position to come into adequate contact with the newcomers to change the overall outcome. Nevertheless, several longtime residents indicated that they were participating in community or social activities (such as going to the Elks or joining a bowling league) specifically to enhance their visibility and make contact with a wider range of community residents. In general, this participation was depicted as an effort which required them to interact in circumstances they found at least slightly uncomfortable. The need to interact, even publically, with unfamiliar people was identified as cause for social discomfort by a number of longtime residents.

By 1981, a number of the ranching families in the area had established second homes in the southwest, frequently in Arizona. Their absence during the winter months consequently reduced their presence and participation in day-to-day community affairs. Nevertheless, the interviews indicated that the networks of contact within the community had been so firmly established that these absences did not necessarily limit reentry into community activities upon return. The growth in the community was not reported to have changed the private relationships between longtime residents. Because it brought together strangers from various locations in the United States, the population in-migration appeared to have had a much greater affect on the private relationships

and friendship networks of the newcomers. A number of the newcomers, particularly women, indicated that it had been difficult and emotionally costly to disengage from the friendship networks established at their previous residence, even though there was generally agreement that they had been able to establish strong friendship ties in Douglas.¹ Those who had been in Douglas for more than a year generally said that they liked Douglas, and that it would be painful to break their friendships and patterns and move again.

4.4.3 Activities/Lifestyles

A number of changes in social activities were noted by longtime residents of Douglas, although it was difficult to obtain a clear indication of when these changes occurred. One frequently mentioned change was the disappearance of "community" dances at which both rural and urban residents of all ages mixed and socialized. A variety of reasons for the demise of what had been a social institution in the community were given, but the change was most frequently associated with the change in the composition of the community and the increased number of strangers and outsiders who did not share in the tradition. One longtime resident couple noted that they were reluctant to go to the dances that were still held at the Elks Club because there was so many strangers there and they (especially the husband) felt awkward and uncomfortable in that situation.

Another change in community social activities was an increased participation in organized, indoor sports. This was seen to be primarily a result of the availability of recreational facilities in the

¹An interesting comment was made several times -- it was easier to keep moving once one started, but that it was very difficult to move once one had settled in and stayed in a community for two or more years.

community at the community recreation center and the bowling alley. Also noted by longtime residents was the incursion of newcomer townspeople into the rural outdoor recreational areas of the community. Hunting, fishing, camping, and family outings to the mountains and streams were among the recreational activities most often mentioned by the blue-collar newcomers. Different patterns and manner of utilization of the natural resources by some of the newcomers from those established by the longtime residents and the negative changes brought, or anticipated, by the rapid increase in population pressure on these resources was cause for concern by many of the longtime residents interviewed.

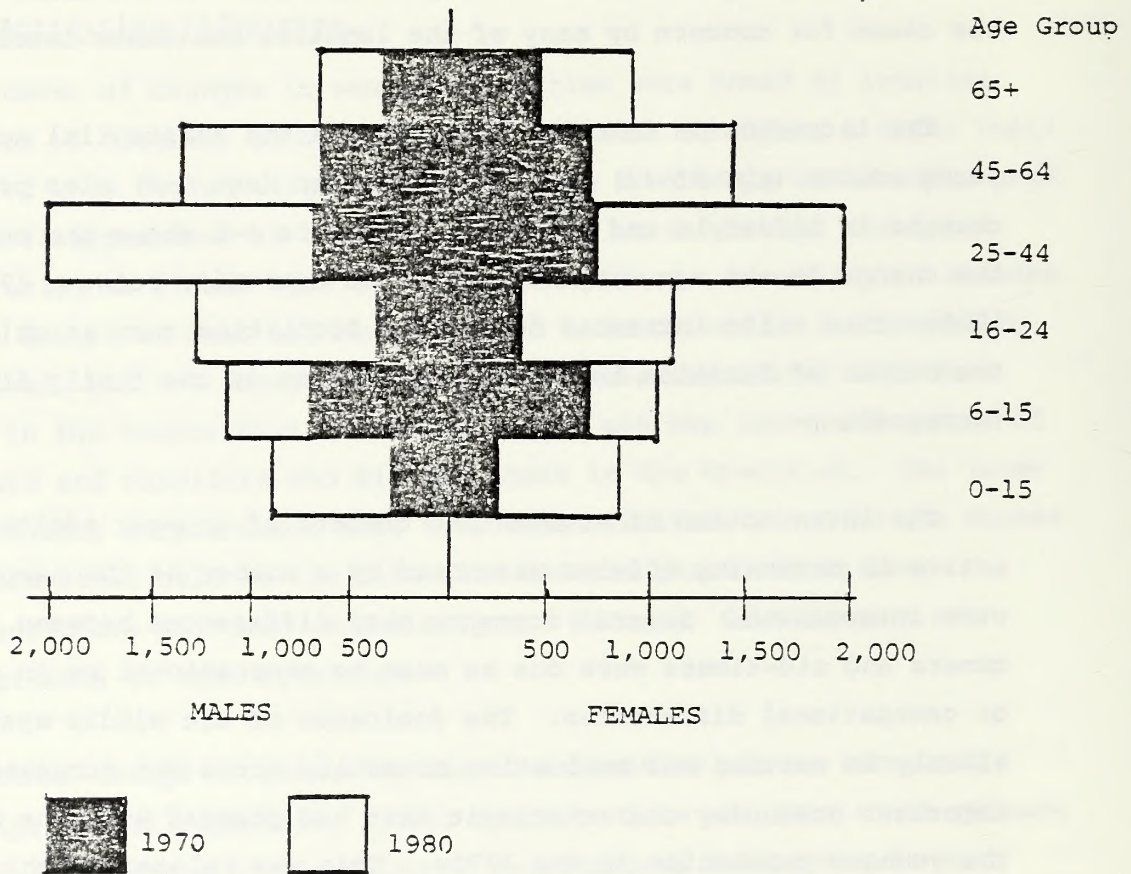
The introduction into the community of the substantial number of young adults (age 25-44) and young children (age 0-5) also prompted changes in lifestyle and activities. Figure 4-1 shows the magnitude of the change in the age composition of the community between 1970 and 1980. This shift increased demand for facilities such as child care as the number of families in the earlier stages of the family life cycle increased.

The introduction of substantial numbers of younger adults who were active in community affairs was noted by a number of the newcomers who were interviewed. Several comments that differences between the newcomers and old-timers were due as much to generational as to residential or occupational differences. The dominance of the middle aged-to-elderly in setting and evaluating community mores was stressed as an important community characteristic that had changed with the influx of the younger population in the 1970s. This was related to changes in preferences for social and recreational activities, changes in approach to community affairs (resulting, for example, in the establishment of a League of Women Voters) and to changes in what respondents referred to as general "lifestyle."

On the other hand, the increase in personal freedom was attributed by several Mexican-American respondents and by a number of longtime

FIGURE 4-1

Converse County Population Structure
1970, 1980



Source: Mountain West Research-North, Inc. 1981.

Note: 1980 age/sex composition is estimated.

resident female respondents to the increased social diversity brought to the community by the newcomers. (This was generally described as a consequence of becoming one of many who were different rather than being one of only a few who were different.)

The formal voluntary associations present in Douglas appeared to have changed little from 1970 to 1980. Information about the number of voluntary associations was taken from the local telephone directory, but a review of the local newspaper indicated that a number of voluntary organizations may have existed that did not have offices and telephones and which, therefore, were not included.

Based on interviews with local residents, the most active organizations throughout the study period were the Moose, the Elks, the JayCees, the Kiwanis, and the Chamber of Commerce. A League of Women Voters was established during the study period -- largely through the efforts of newcomers -- which was active in community affairs.

Church attendance was traditionally relatively low in Converse County, according to local informants. The increased population resulted in sufficient expansion of membership for most local churches to construct, or plan additions to their churches. The expansion of membership in the LDS Church in Douglas during the several years prior to the study was noted by several interviewees. The LDS congregation completed construction of a new church in late 1980 or early 1981, and thus became a much more visible element in the community.

Most of those interviewed indicated that membership or participation in formal voluntary associations generally was less important than informal socializing and family activities. Attendance at, and support of, high school athletic competitions received little mention during the interviews, even when the discussion was focused on the schools.

4.4.4 Relationship to Energy Development

The relationship of changes in social differentiation to the energy development that occurred in Douglas is difficult to specify. It is clear that energy-related population growth and turnover were directly related to the reduction in familiarity among community residents. It is less clear how much, or which particular aspects, of the changes in activities and lifestyle that occurred in the community can be attributed to the characteristics of the newcomers and the shift in the economic base of the community. The increased importance of the "pioneer family" designation and heightened attention to occupational affiliation and length of residence as descriptors of individuals and families appeared to represent an attempt to emphasize group affiliations, or in some cases, to identify the characteristics which served as the basis for group affiliation solidarity.

The particular form of the social differentiation that occurred in Douglas appeared to have been strongly affected by the preproject characteristics of the community population (strong kinship ties between ranchers and businesspeople; an established, but small, Mexican-American component of the population; little ethnic identification or distinction among the Anglo residents; and no significant presence of blacks or native Americans) and the characteristics of the in-migrants (almost entirely Anglo, of no distinctive or unified ethnic, religious or corporate orientation, primarily from the western United States, and relatively heterogeneous compared to the existing population). As a consequence of the lack of major and visible differences between the newcomers and the existing population, the social differentiation effects of energy growth in Douglas were subtle rather than overt.

These changes in social differentiation were generally linked by respondents to (1) the decrease in familiarity between employees and residents, (2) perceived characteristics of many newcomers (especially the transients) as untrustworthy and temporary, (3) the need to deal with a substantially greater volume of people, and (4) the need to deal with more complex social, economic, and political agendas. All these

factors can be linked to the population growth and administrative demands created by the energy development. The available secondary data support this analysis.

4.4.5 Consequences of Social Differentiation

4.4.5.1 Ability to Respond

The limited social differentiation of the Douglas community prior to development had restricted the community's exposure to diverse perspectives and approaches. This fact appeared responsible for the intense response of longtime residents to the relatively moderate changes in social differentiation that had occurred by 1981. At the same time, the relative similarity of the newcomers to the longtime residents prevented the formation of factions in the community drawn along either employment or residential lines.

As discussed previously, the social differentiation that occurred in Douglas resulted both from the ability of the community to attract both management and blue-collar energy workers and the decision to professionalize local government. Once this differentiation had occurred, the community became much more flexible and responded more easily to later increases in differentiation. During the study period, this change appeared to be more the consequence of the community's response than a cause of the response. Had the WyCoalGas synthetic fuel project occurred, it is likely that the social differentiation that occurred during the earlier period of energy development would have had a significant effect on the ability of the community to anticipate and cope with the additional changes.

4.4.5.2 Distribution of Effects

The particular characteristics of the economic and social structure in the community prior to energy development and the nature of the development resulted in an uneven distribution of economic and social benefits and costs among existing residents. In general, this distribution appeared to have followed existing patterns, with landowners,

particularly ranchers in the northern portion of the county, reaping large financial gains from their land and mineral rights, and with town-based landowners benefiting from the escalation of property value in the area. One consequence of the increased formalization and reduced familiarity among community residents was a more impersonal, and hence more egalitarian, treatment of individuals. In a number of cases, this reduced the privileges of the wealthy and well-known, and promoted more equal treatment of the less wealthy and less permanent residents. This change was reported to have been particularly important in obtaining governmental action or services (zoning, police protection, social programs) and banking services. Nevertheless, it was clear that once the transition period had passed, many of the same patterns were being re-established, utilizing somewhat expanded and more complex classification criteria. Despite this, residents indicated a noticeable shift toward achievement- (rather than ascription-) related criteria for social and economic distinctions. These changes, obviously, were closely linked to the changes that occurred in the stratification system of the community (described in Chapter 5).

4.4.5.3 Relationship of Residents and the Community

The increased differentiation that occurred in Douglas as a consequence of the demands for more differentiated skills and the influx of newcomers substantially affected the relationship many longtime residents had with the community. The increased diversity and loss of mutual familiarity among community residents which accompanied and contributed to the increased social differentiation gave some Anglo longtime residents a sense of alienation from other community residents and from the community itself. Newcomers tended not to report being affected in this way, even if they had moved from a small town.

One response to the increases social diversity was to institute standardized, formal procedures. In general, this formalization served (sometimes intentionally and sometimes incidentally) to minimize differential, individualistic treatment of residents. In some cases, such as in banking and in commercial service, the institution of uniformly

applied identification procedures was developed as an effort to reduce bad check writing and to compensate for the loss of recognition of the individual by employees. The interviews conducted in the community indicated that longtime residents, in particular, interpreted these changes as a loss of social recognition and position in the community. The intensity of the descriptions of these occurrences indicated that the loss of personal recognition in these spheres of community relationships was emotionally trying and deeply regretted, even when the need for the change was acknowledged and when the individual benefited economically from the changes.

Among newcomers, the need to present identification was generally viewed as a nuisance, but the procedures instituted by the bank and the local government were viewed as contributing to the more equitable treatment of all residents. The social meaning of this change in differentiation was indicated by the fact that most longtime residents brought up this subject as an example of the salient changes that had occurred in the community, and as a relatively heartfelt aggravation, while very few newcomers mentioned this change at all.

The increased social distance between residents in the community that was reflected in the decreased personal knowledge between residents and a shift from the personal ("Oh, you mean Charlie ...") to the classificatory ("the teachers") was also noted with regret by longtime residents, and seemed to characterize their sense of the changes that had occurred in their own social position in the community. Most reported gaining security in the pre-growth period from the universal personal recognition and acknowledgement they obtained from other community residents. Loss of that universality and the shifting mode of recognition and acknowledgement appeared to be disconcerting and regarded as personally demeaning by all longtime residents interviewed (except those whose public position or success had kept them well-known). In several instances this changed relationship was clearly associated with a loss of confidence in and ease with community institutions (for example, police, local government) and activities.

5. CHANGES IN STRATIFICATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses several aspects of the stratification system in Douglas and Converse County. Major emphasis is given to changes in the nature of political, economic, and social power and prestige, and in the bases, patterns, and consequences of their distribution among community residents. An effort was made to determine the relationship of energy development to these changes, but lacking 1980 census material or a sample survey, secondary evidence for this analysis was limited. The discussion is based on community interviews and the secondary data and focuses on the changes that occurred in the nature of political and economic power in the community and changes in the criteria for access to positions, resources, and status. In Douglas and Converse County, political and economic aspects of the stratification system are closely aligned. Changes in access to resources is examined, followed by a discussion of the relationship of these changes to energy development, and how these changes affected the community's ability to respond, the distribution of effects among community residents, and the relationships of residents within and to the community.

5.2 Political Stratification

5.2.1 Changes in the Nature of Political Power

Substantial changes occurred in the nature of political power in Douglas over the study period. As the population grew, resource flows increased dramatically, and political responsibilities expanded.

According to persons who were active in local government throughout the study period, the scope of governmental power in preimpact Douglas was limited. Local political leaders were constrained in their power to obtain revenues by limited local economic activity and property value, and by state statutes which prevented locally imposed income and sales taxes. County officials were limited in their power to control growth

by the absence of land use or zoning regulations. In addition, the power of the government was limited by the small population and low economic activity in the community. As in many rural communities, local governmental positions were reportedly usually held by community residents who had run for office because of a particular (usually limited and specific) motivation, or by persons who owned a significant quantity of the community resource base.

As economic activity and population increased during the 1970s, the scope of governmental authority also increased. New legislation was passed which gave local officials authority to impose sales and use taxes, to establish joint powers bodies, to regulate zoning and land use, and to negotiate with energy project sponsors. Several new positions were created during the study period which extended and redistributed political power within the local government. Of particular importance was the creation of the position of city administrator, which both shifted and specified more precisely the administrative and budgetary control over city government, and the creation of the joint powers board, which authorized unified town-county governmental projects and activities. In addition, increased availability of tax revenues and state and federal grant monies dramatically increased the budget of local government at municipal, county, and school district levels. Also, the economic stakes in local government decisions were greatly increased as the opportunity for economic gain from business and real estate escalated. These changes greatly enhanced the power of local government and, with it, the scale of potential governmental conflicts of interest.

According to local residents, the potential for significant personal gain due to the knowledge and power accruing to local government officials posed dilemmas for officials and citizens alike. The role of government, as well as its procedures, were changing in ways that were often controversial and unfamiliar to the community residents.

None of those interviewed indicated that structural lack of power posed a serious long-term problem to the community during the study period. This was attributed to the ability and willingness of existing governmental bodies to take decisive action to modify local governmental structure and to take advantage of existing legislation.

5.3.2 Changes in Access to Political Positions

Douglas had a history of strong adherence to conservative Republicanism. This persisted throughout the study period. Throughout its history, the odd Democrat had been elected or appointed to a political position, but these instances seemed to be viewed as anomalies and as almost random events.

Access to political positions varied according to jurisdictional unit. Traditionally, the elected officials in the county government had been ranchers or retired ranchers, with only occasional representation by business or professional people. This was true despite the fact that town residents (including those in Glenrock) also voted in county elections and constituted a majority of the county population.

Throughout the study period, county positions were generally held by individuals with ties to agriculture, although this dominance was less by 1981 than it was reported to have been in 1970. Throughout the study period, the county commissioners were four elderly, Anglo men. In 1981, two of the four were from business backgrounds. Other county-level governmental positions (such as county clerk) tended to be held by women. The shift from males to females was reported to have occurred during the war and to have been stable since that time. Although a number of these positions were held by longtime residents, others, particularly those requiring professional skills (such as attorneys), tended to be filled by newcomers.

Town government was reported to have demonstrated considerably less stability in personnel than the county government. The town council and mayor were elected at large by town residents. Past mayors commonly

mentioned by community residents were old-timers who had been, and who generally continued to be, among the community influentials, even if they had retired from active governmental service. At the time of the study, the mayor of Douglas was a woman who had been a community resident for less than ten years. Unlike many previous mayors, she was generally not identified as an influential aside from her official position and was not considered to be a particularly powerful person. As in the county, the newly created positions such as city administrator, planners, public works director, police chief were all filled by professionals who had been recruited from outside the community.

In 1981, the district's school system was run by a seven member school board and a superintendent. The schools in Converse County were consolidated into two districts in the early 1970s. This gave increased power to the Douglas school board. The school superintendent had been recruited from outside the community. The same man, a native of Wyoming, held the position from 1971 to the time of the study. As in many communities, women played an important role on the school board. Membership of the school board was considered relatively prestigious. By the late 1970s it was quite common for the newcomers to be represented on the school board. Throughout the study period, one position on the board was designated for a representative from the rural schools.

Prior to the impact period, special education or experience was required only for the position of school superintendent. For no other positions in any of the three jurisdictions was professional qualification a particular consideration. As indicated in the previous paragraphs, in the preproject period, different attributes appeared to be influential for election or appointment to positions in the three jurisdictions, with commitment to the community the single outstanding common criteria among them. At the end of the study period, the relative emphasis had changed, with skill and knowledge attaining greater significance. A substantial number of positions in local government had developed which required professional qualifications -- administrator, police chief, county attorney, planners -- although the elected

political positions continued to lack such criteria. Because of the substantial shift of control over political resources to these professional positions, the imposition of educational and experience requirements had the short-run effect of shifting access to such positions away from local residents and those without high educational attainment. (It was not clear what the long-run effects would be, since locals appeared to have adequate access to education.) The focus on professional training and experience might serve to increase the access of women to positions of political power. In 1981, the assistant town administrator (MA in Public Administration), the head of the public health program (though not the medical officer), and the town attorney were women.

The minority Hispanic population had no formal political representation during the study period. Given that they constituted a very small numeric minority, this lack was not seen to reflect discrimination.

Throughout the interviews, a notable lack of comment was received concerning differential access to political positions or to inordinant dominance by, or exclusion of, particular groups. From the relatively limited information obtained on characteristics of position-holders, it did not appear that energy company representatives played a large direct role in local politics in any of the three jurisdictions, although a management level employee of an energy company was on the 1981 town council. Despite the number of newcomers and energy personnel who migrated to the town, few references were made in Douglas to a takeover by either newcomers or energy personnel.¹

Despite a publically chauvanistic attitude by some of the community's influential males, women were not entirely excluded from responsible political positions, as demonstrated by the election of the current mayor and the presence of several women in influential staff and

¹Such comments were commonplace by residents of Glenrock, where PP&L had been a single industry impactor in the mid-1950s.

agency positions. Overall, community interviews indicated that local politics were more dominated by ranchers and longtime resident businessmen in the pre-project period than at the time of the study. Apparently, the opportunity for an individual to compete for political positions was not an issue in the community during the study period.

There were some complaints in Douglas that professional administrators (generally outsiders) developed such complex systems that they greatly increased their own power through their exclusive control of knowledge about how to operate the system. Concern over accumulated power was voiced often about the two positions (city administrator and school superintendent) which represented the most conspicuous power in the community, and which were held by individuals who had taken full advantage of the power to institute aggressive building and organizational change. To some extent, these comments appeared to have been provoked by the role the two administrators played in changing and formalizing the nature of political power in the community, thus reducing the personalized nature of interaction between political office holders and the public.

Local leaders in Douglas repeatedly noted the adherence of local residents to an ethic of fair play. This orientation was said to have exerted a strong influence on the leadership's decision-making process throughout the study period. Residents were generally credited with basing an important part of their evaluation of decision-maker response on their assessment of its fairness.

During the study period, key governmental officials (county commissioners, school superintendent, town council, town administrator) consciously altered their mode of action, instituting more formal procedures and interaction between officials (at formal governmental functions) and between the governmental bodies and the public. According to the town administrator, who was generally recognized as the leading force in this process, these changes were necessary to compliment and promote a more equitable system of political decision-making based on

the merits of the request or/case rather than on the personal attributes of the petitioner. The change, in short, was designed to lessen the "good old boy" form of political decision-making.

By most accounts, this change was effective, and the increased formalism was used to provide wider access to the decision-makers. Nevertheless, it also had the effect of reducing the personalness of governmental-citizen relationships.

No valid quantitative indicators of change in access to political positions were developed for Douglas.

5.2.3 Changes in Access to Politically Controlled Resources

Overall, there was a general consensus among those interviewed, as well as in the objective data, indicating that the availability of public resources had increased over the study period. A number of new public facilities were established during the study period to serve the general public (for example, new schools, a recreation center, a new water system, and a new county building). Other facilities and services were developed to serve particular segments of the population (for example, the senior citizens center, the public day-care centers, and the public and mental health programs). Interviews with public officials and service providers emphasized the effort that had been made during the 1970s to expand services, identify the target populations, and deliver services to those who would benefit from them. This commitment was apparently held by both elected and agency officials. Without exception, the service providers in Douglas said that services were reaching more of the needy population in the late 1970s than during the early 1970s. It was noted by several agency representatives that the increased availability of resources and staff and the example provided by newcomers who utilized public services had a combined effect of increasing usage by needy longtime residents. No groups were identified as discriminated against in the provision of or access to public resources except the illegal aliens, who were understandably reluctant

to make their presence publicly known, and were hampered by their non-resident status and the language barrier.¹ However, several of the elderly longtime residents indicated a reluctance to utilize facilities such as the recreation center because they were reticent about the interaction with large number of newcomers.

An area of note concerning access to politically-controlled resources involved the development and sale of real estate. City and county elected (and appointed) officials exercised considerable control over siting decisions, subdivision development, and the availability and cost of utility hook-ups. Because of the money involved, this created great potential for conflicts of interest. According to both government officials and developers, the regulations developed in Douglas and their method of enforcement served to decrease the differential in real estate opportunities between influential locals, noninfluential locals, and outside developers. They also prevented the cost of facility expansion from falling on longtime resident property owners. By all accounts, community officials were diligent in enforcing these policies and were successful in attaining their objectives.

The increased formality and more clearly specified criteria for decision-making also appeared to have assisted political position-holders in avoiding requests for political favoritism. Such avoidance was felt to have been more difficult when the political process operated on a largely informal basis. This is not to say, of course, that informal contacts were no longer made or important in Douglas politics, but that some topics of business had been shifted into a more structured and formalized arena.

Associated with this change toward greater formalism was the establishment of a Douglas League of Women Voters. This organization

¹Resident Hispanics did not report such difficulties, and several service agencies indicated that special efforts had been made to provide services to the others, who tended to be agricultural workers.

generally served to make information concerning political candidates' backgrounds and platforms and about political issues (legislation, bond issues) available to the general public in a nonpartisan and objective manner. The perceived need for such an organization emerged as the political system became more formalized and complex, voters became less familiar with candidates and issues, and voting decisions become less influenced by personal knowledge and contact with the process and more dependent upon formal statements and expositions. In Douglas, the moving force for the establishment of the League was newcomer women.

5.2.4 Relationship of Changes to Energy Development

According to the interviews conducted in the community, the changes in political stratification and the nature of the political system in Douglas were linked to energy development by several factors. The first was the perceived need of preimpact political leaders to prepare for energy impact and their decisions to give up a substantial amount of control by introducing outside professionals into key policy and political positions. These same leaders, in collaboration with the new professionals, then instituted many of the legislative and procedural changes that were noted above. These changes were dictated by the demands of the situation, but they also appeared to have been influenced by the personal style and preferences of the professional newcomers.

It was reported that members of the industrial association (especially representatives of energy companies) lobbied extensively, often through informal discussions with community influentials, for increased formalization and professionalization of the administrative structure of the local government. It is not clear how important this effort was in causing the changes that occurred, but a participant in the process indicated that it definitely was a factor. The companies were reportedly not willing to contribute monetarily to this effort.

In addition, the availability of energy-derived revenues, both locally and through the state, had an important effect on the availability of public services and facilities, and on the community's ability to

provide resources in sufficient quantity to make them generally available. This reduced the need to develop criteria for exclusion.

The significant influx of population to Douglas in the mid- to late-1970s, which was largely attributable to energy development, was perceived as the driving force for most of the major decisions to alter the political structure. It was also seen as primarily responsible for the more gradual adaptation of the system, both through direct participation of newcomers in the political process as candidates and voters, and through modification of the local political environment, which caused longtime residents to modify their positions and actions.

It should be noted, however, that many of the changes that occurred in Douglas were also occurring throughout the state and the nation. Nevertheless, the resources and population associated with energy development appeared to play a substantial role in the changes described above.

5.2.5 Consequences of Changes in Political Stratification

5.2.5.1 Ability of the Community to Respond

The preproject political systems in Douglas had several important characteristics which influenced the nature of response made to the population and resource growth associated with energy development. The Douglas town government was described as better organized and more decisively led in the early 1970s than the county government. The town government was led by a member of a longtime pioneer family who evidently had the stature and personality to take decisive action and to provide sufficient leadership to carry decisions through to completion.

However, the ability of the town government and the community to accommodate the insertion of outsider/newcomers into some of the most powerful and influential positions in town government (police chief, public works director, town administrator, planner) appeared to be at

least partially a consequence of the traditional structure and stratification characteristics of the community and the town government. The town government did not have an established political stratification system through which individuals progressed from lower to higher positions, with political positions "handed down" through the hierarchy. In Douglas, according to community interviews and election results, positions were traditionally filled by individuals who ran as individuals with little, if any, emphasis on or attention to continuity or political progression. Consequently, elected officials seemed to be relatively free to act upon their own initiative and priorities. This ability appeared to have been critical to the mayor's ability to implement his decision to strengthen the administration capacity of the town by establishing professional planning and administrative positions.

Government participation at the county level was less volatile, with decision-making dependent to a greater extent on consensus among the four commissioners than upon the initiative of a single individual. County commissioners tended to hold their positions for several terms, providing considerably greater continuity and stability in the composition of the county's executive body than of the town's, making it more difficult for newcomers to participate, and more difficult for the county commission to adopt controversial policies. This situation was somewhat modified by the establishment of a joint powers board for which the city administrator and planners served as staff -- positions from which they exerted considerable influence on the board's operation.

By changing the access criterion for key positions in the local governmental structure, Douglas obtained persons with new skills and capabilities and increased its capacity to respond to the governmental demands associated with rapid growth, but in so doing, it shifted, fairly significantly, the criteria for position attainment and introduced an additional criterion of status into the political stratification system (education, professionalism), creating two pools of political power holders -- professionals and politicians. In Douglas, these two groups were able to establish a mutually satisfactory balance

of power and prestige. This resulted in efficient working relationships and generated enough confidence between position holders to allow them to trade-off the "hot seat" on sensitive but important governmental issues.

5.2.5.2 Distribution of Effects

The preproject political system in Douglas was generally structured to respond to the interests of ranchers (particularly in the county government) or to businesspeople (particularly in the town). However, since kin ties between the two groups were quite dense, and since many ranchers had business interests and/or had retired into the town, few community residents were excluded from consideration by these foci. This overlap between business and agriculture was often noted and seemed to have served to moderate conflicts between the two groups. In addition, respondents throughout the community emphasized that a pervasive concern for the overall well-being of the community as a unit tempered the pursuit of self-interested policies which were detrimental to the community as a whole.

The establishment of professional administrative and service positions during the mid-1970s, staffed by persons who were motivated at least partially to achieve professional goals (which often involved preventing inequitable distribution of energy-related resources), and who had the skills and power to implement redistributive programs, was important to the distribution of project effects between the community and outside, as well as among residents of the community.

Both the school superintendent and the town administrator, as well as administrators of other public service agencies, were aggressive and effective in seeking grants from state and federal sources. This enabled the community to provide services to local residents sooner and at substantially lower cost to its residents than would otherwise have been the case. Examples included such important community facilities as the water treatment and water storage systems, roads, and the new school/recreational facilities.

Within the community, the change in political power and positions had several distributive effects. First, it diminished the relative status of the ranchers in community affairs (this was an aggregate effect of the changes in the economic political, and demographic structure of the community). It also reduced the sense of "generic" inclusion previously felt by many longtime residents who reported feeling closer ties to the power centers of the community during the preproject period than they felt in 1981. Simultaneously, it increased access to both political positions and political resources. Douglas residents generally appeared to feel that educational resources/opportunities were open to them without discrimination, and no indications were found that local residents felt that the educational qualifications required for access to the new governmental positions posed a permanent blockage to their attainment by local youth.

One attribute of the preproject stratification system in the community was substantial contact between members of the different strata in the course of everyday activities. For example, the longtime residents who were blue collar workers frequently had fairly extensive and familiar relationships with community influentials. This contributed to a widespread sense of inclusion and participation in the political process even for residents who did not play an active role as leaders or as voters. Most longtime residents who were interviewed did not feel they had established a similar relationship with the newcomers who increasingly held decisive positions in local government.

5.2.5.3 Relationships Among Residents and Relationship of Residents to the Community

The effects of the changes in political stratification that occurred in Douglas on the relationships of community residents were similar to those discussed for political differentiation. No strong political factions developed in the community over energy development issues or changes in political power. This meant that influential longtime residents were no longer as dominant a force in the community as they had been previously, and that political power had become more pluralistic.

However, these changes were only moderate -- longtime resident business-people and ranchers continued to be well-represented among the influentials of the community.

The influence of the changes in political stratification on the relationships of residents to the community was covered as part of previous discussions. The increased access of newcomers appeared to have countervailing effects on different groups in the community. It was generally viewed as positive and essential by the professional and business-oriented newcomers; it was viewed as inconsequential by many of the working-class newcomers and the young single newcomers who had little interest in political participation; and it was viewed as necessary but unfortunate by other longtime residents.

5.3 Economic Stratification

5.3.1 Change in the Nature of Economic Power

During the preproject period, economic power in Douglas was held primarily by landowners and bankers (who tended to be the same people). Because of the relatively short history of permanent settlement in the region, a substantial amount of the land in the community was owned by pioneers or original settlers. Throughout the early 1900s, a process of land consolidation was initiated as successful ranchers and business-owners bought out those who were less successful. Although there were a number of Douglas families who had owned local businesses since pioneer days (frequently branches of area ranching families), the real wealth in the area was obtained primarily through the ownership of land, used either for ranching, mineral development, or real estate development. Land ownership was traditionally the criterion for economic status and power in the community, county, and state. Successful longtime residents tended to own considerable acreage, much of which was worth relatively little until the period of energy development and population growth, at which point those with property near or in town, or with mineral rights, often realized very large economic gains.

In Douglas during the preimpact period, economic status was obtained primarily through control of natural resources and the utilization of revenues from those resources to provide employment and income (through taxes, wages, and local purchases) to other local residents. Given the nature of the operations in the Douglas area, however, a high proportion of workers were property owners and self-employed, and the local economy in the community contained no truly large-scale employers, thus limiting the degree of economic dominance by any single individual or corporation.

In Douglas, (unlike Glenrock, the other town in Converse County where local residents had developed small-scale energy development companies) energy development occurred almost exclusively through the activities of large, multinational energy corporations with the exception of some of the oil and gas development, which was undertaken by independents). The arrival of these companies to extract the uranium, oil, gas, and coal resources of the area changed both the scope and nature of business activities in the community. The companies and their activities were of much greater magnitude (in terms of work force and corporate resources) than other existing local activities ¹ and were also of a significantly different type. Most were investor-owned corporations, though a few were governmental (TVA) or were privately owned. This meant that the resources of the companies were generally not owned or controlled by their operators in the same sense that most local companies or enterprises were. Given the dominance of property ownership as a criterion for economic status in Douglas, the lack of ownership stature by local representatives of the energy corporations had a significant effect on the impact of energy development on the local stratification system.

Local representatives of the large-scale energy companies clearly possessed a high degree of economic power vis-a-vis the community

¹Although the community had experience with the railroads and commodity dealers and large utilities such as Bell Telephone and PP & L, the local presence of these companies was low. Of these, only the railroads had ever had a major physical presence in the town.

through their ability to influence the employment and purchasing decisions of the company. Nevertheless, it became evident to local residents during the course of the siting process that local company managers were limited to both in their ability to control corporate decisions and in their personal economic stake in the economic activities of the local area. The lack of equity investment in the community by corporate representatives was identified by local business owners and community influentials as a key feature in the relationships of the companies and their managers to the community, and in the effect of the energy companies on the nature of economic power in the community.

Two other associated changes occurred in the characteristics of community economic power during the study period. First, directly related to the nonowner management characteristics of most of the energy companies, was a dramatic change in the economic power of persons whose property ownership was limited. Because of the managerial power of local representatives of the energy companies and the high wages paid to large numbers of energy company employees, wage and salary workers acquired an unprecedented degree of economic power in the community. This constituted an important shift in the nature and locus of economic power in the community by shifting much of the locally manifest power from resource owners to resource-based employees,¹ and by shifting at least some of the power from those who held long-term control of the resources to those with short-term control of personal consumption expenditures. The fact that much of this new economic power was held by newcomer bluecollar workers and corporate managers, whose apparent ownership of property was decidedly limited, introduced substantial dissonance within the established stratification hierarchy of the community.

¹It should be noted that this shift occurred only from the perspective of the local community, since the resource owners held final power over the employees and investment decisions.

Second, the high capital requirements of the energy development activities greatly modified the assessed valuation of local property and, through increased tax revenues, the resources controlled by local government officials. Prior to the study period, local governments had been relatively poor and received revenues from sources (such as agricultural and residential property) that were themselves closely controlled (and often personally owned) by local influentials and officials. The ability of the local governments to obtain and dispense large amounts of revenues from nonlocal owners (energy companies) significantly changed the nature of the economic power of local government. It also changed the balance of economic power in the community, as persons with nontraditional characteristics acquired increased political power over these increasingly large and economically important decisions.

Other factors which influenced the local economic stratification system and which served to reduce the relative importance of the energy companies were the distinct time limitation imposed by the extractive nature of energy operations and the high degree of uncertainty associated with the level and schedule of energy-related activities. To the longtime residents of the community, a high proportion of whom were involved with operations established in the late 1800s, or early 1900s, and which had no definable termination point, energy companies and their representatives were viewed as a temporary aberration in the long-term economic structure of the community. Most continued to view the community's essential economic base as agriculture and services. This perception was mentioned frequently by community residents when commenting upon the role of the energy companies in community affairs and the power hierarchy.

A final factor which was important to the nature of economic power and its distribution was the dispersion of the energy development activities among a number of firms rather than concentration within a single corporation. Despite some important similarities and commonalities of interest, the energy companies active in the Douglas economy

during the study period were quite diverse in structure and objective, and though sometimes collaborative, were often in competition with one another. These characteristics appeared to moderate the influence of the energy companies on the nature of economic power in the community by preventing community-wide domination by a single corporation.

Overall, the impression obtained from the community research was that substantial impetus had been applied to alter the prevailing structure and nature of economic power in the community and that short-term accommodations had been made to the shift from local to nonlocal control of the fundamental resource (land and minerals) upon which the economy of the community was based. However, it appeared that the temporal nature of this shift was a constant consideration by local residents which had greatly moderated the extent to which these changes were considered permanent. Indeed, in some ways, the community interviews revealed a greater awareness of and attention to the changes that had occurred in the scope and base of the economic power of government, than those that had occurred in the private sector. Many appeared to consider the governmental changes to be of greater long-term significance. People in Douglas appeared to feel that energy companies, after all, were private enterprise, which had in its basic structure and motives strong similarities to the private enterprise of locally-owned businesses.

5.3.2 Change in Access to Business Positions

To a large extent, the changes that occurred in Douglas over the study period in terms of access to business positions was the consequence of three factors -- the greatly increased level of business activity and hence of employment opportunities, the increase in the proportion of employment that was wage and salary rather than entrepreneurial, and the increase in the proportion of employment that was controlled by nonlocal employers.

These changes, in aggregate, altered the manner in which workers competed for jobs, and in which employers competed for workers. As

mentioned in Chapter 4, the increasing specialization and technical nature of employment opportunities in the Douglas economy decreased the relative economic value of familiarity with local conditions and mores, while it increased the economic value of experience and technical training. Since only a limited amount of experience or training in the types of jobs that were most desirable and which were expanding most rapidly during the growth period were available within the community during the early 1970s, local residents were initially at a comparative disadvantage in competition with outsiders for these jobs. In addition, the historic lack of growth in the economy (and employment) of the Douglas area had left the community with only a small pool of manpower of any skill description. These two factors were generally considered the principal reasons (rather than any preference for outsiders) for the disproportionate number of outsiders that obtained local employment during this period.

The general perception in Douglas was that local residents had managed to compete quite effectively over the long run to obtain their preferred employment. The only area for which this was not generally thought to be true was in access to corporate management positions. This was attributed to the absence of corporate headquarters in the community, and also to the fact that access to management positions required either advanced educational training, and/or multiple locational transfers as one advanced through the corporate hierarchy.

The rapid expansion of employment had two positive effects on occupational mobility within the community. First, it created a large pool of jobs which were better paying and/or more prestigious than many of the jobs existing in the community prior to the growth. This created positive job opportunities for residents (and presumably also for newcomers, since one would expect that the costs of moving would require compensation in pay or status). The somewhat limited information obtained from the interviews on individual work experience during the study period indicated that this had occurred, but that it had been much more significant for the younger generation of longtime residents and

for newcomers than for older longtime residents. Many of the longtime residents interviewed who had been adults in 1965-70 and who were employed in wage and salary jobs did not report noticeable occupational effects from the growth of the economy. Those who did, appeared to have primarily benefited from the second of the two effects -- the opportunity for advancement in income and status due to seniority in a rapidly expanding company/agency and the graduation of existing employees into the new managerial or supervisory jobs that resulted from the expansion and differentiation of the local economy.

Despite a decline in the proportion of the self-employed in the workforce, the number of nonfarm proprietors in Converse County increased in absolute numbers between 1970 and 1977. In general, the nonfarm proprietors indicated that the increase in overall economic activity had increased their business opportunities, in some cases beyond their interest or ability to pursue.

The factors that were identified as limiting access to business/employment included:

- 1) Limited opportunities for training, although this was not a common complaint.
- 2) Limited ability to respond to employment opportunities due to other responsibilities, the unavailability of essential services (such as day-care), or the unwillingness to act counter to prevailing social norms. This factor appears to have been most significant for women. The prevalence of shift work in the higher paying energy-related occupations reportedly made the difficulty in obtaining child care and family support much more serious an impediment. In addition, some of the older longtime residents voiced a reluctance to undertake unfamiliar work.

The inability or unwillingness of locals to obtain high-paying energy sector jobs often caused them to experience a relative decline in earning power compared to others in the community. In general, however, residents both old and new seemed to feel that access to business positions and to employment opportunities had been greatly enhanced over the study period, largely as a direct result of the jobs and income introduced into the community by energy development. As indicated in the

above discussion, a certain element of this increase and the sense of increased opportunity for mobility (which was seldom directly addressed but frequently implied) was the reduction in the power of the informal networks and contacts to control economic opportunities. Although informal contacts were still considered important, the net effect of the changes appeared to have been interpreted by longtime residents as movement toward a system with less internal friction and more emphasis on achievement. To some, this shift represented opportunity; to others, it represented a threat.

Upon closer examination of the work force patterns in the community, it was not evident that a disproportionate number of the newly created lower paying jobs in the community actually were being filled by locals. It was probably true (though data to prove the argument are not available for Douglas) that until well into the energy development period most longtime residents with a reasonably good job did not attempt to change occupations because of the need to learn new skills, a sense of obligation to current employers, a hesitance to make the necessary effort, and the perceived temporariness of the new jobs. Jobs in the retail sector are generally considered among the lower-paying, lower-status jobs in an economy. In Converse County, per worker earnings in the retail sector were among the lowest in both 1974 and 1978. The results of a survey of retail establishments conducted in Douglas in 1981 on the distribution of service sector employees among categories of residential duration in the community showed that retail sector employees were predominately female, but demonstrated considerable variability in duration of residence. Until census data are available showing the proportion of the working-age population who have lived in the community for less than five years, it is not possible to definitely address the issue of proportional representation, but it is clear from these data that newcomers were well-represented among retail sector employees and that longtime residents were not the exclusive holders of low-paying jobs.

5.3.3 Access to Business-Controlled Resources

A major issue that has emerged is the ability (and opportunity) of local business and personnel to compete for work controlled by the newcomers and/or the energy-related companies.

As discussed further in Chapter 7, questions have been raised about the effects of extra-locally based employers on the patterns of business relationships within the local community. An aspect of this change in employer characteristics noted with some dismay by local entrepreneurs was the perceived tendency for such companies to utilize corporate resources from outside the area (other divisions, etc.) to complete local studies or provide services and materials, or to go outside the community to contract for such services. It is not known to what extent this practice actually occurred, but among some business owners the perception of injustice and frustration was quite strong.

Until very recently, (the siting negotiations for the WyCoalGas and NERCO mine projects), local government officials indicated frustration at their inability to obtain access to energy-company resources for the mitigation of project-related effects. Although various of the energy companies had made periodic contributions to local governmental projects, particularly those associated with public works (for example, roads), local governmental leaders generally indicated little access to corporate resources aside from the (considerable) taxes they received from them. Recent state legislation gave local communities negotiation and veto power over project siting, a move considered effective in providing greater access to information and corporate resources.

As described in Chapter 4, the availability of financing has also been identified as a concern for energy-growth communities because lack of financing has the potential to inhibit adequate community business response. Interviews with developers, bankers, and retail business owners in Douglas indicated that, during the 1970s, financing was difficult and expensive to obtain throughout the United States, as well as in

Douglas. One of the major developers in Douglas indicated that financing was a problem generic to large-scale, anticipatory development, and that the participation of energy companies was critical to enable adequate response, especially to meet local housing needs.

The major causes contributing to an inadequate supply of financing were commonly thought to include the following:

- 1) The magnitude and uncertainty of the demand, given the size and uncertainty of project schedules
- 2) Lack of capital within Wyoming and the need to go to secondary markets, which required additional knowledge and expense
- 3) Monopolistic and conservative banking establishments which had little interest or knowledge about the requirements or opportunities for financing under growth conditions
- 4) Conservative and unsophisticated developers and business owners whose banking contacts were limited and confining
- 5) National economic conditions and policies which made long-term financing and construction financing expensive and generally unattractive to bankers

In Douglas, most respondents commented upon the dominant and the conservative orientation of the main bank in the community at the beginning of the study period, and cited it as an important factor in community business response to growth. The bank was described as having considerable control over any local business investment opportunities which required bank financing. As other banks entered the economy, this controlling position was moderated, although the local financial institutions continued to be identified as a critical element in the ability of the community to respond, and to business owners' access to resources.

In the discussions of access to resources, it became clear that factors other than expected objective results often influenced the decisions to make financing available. Personal acquaintance, political affiliation, family history, length of residence, and sponsorship were among the factors mentioned as important in determining access to funds. Although these informal links were reportedly less important in 1981 than they had been in 1965 or 1970 because of an increased emphasis

on formal loan review procedures, community residents indicated that they remained an important aspect of business transactions in the community at the end of the study period.

5.3.4 Relationship of the Changes to Energy Development

Energy development played a central and direct role in the changes that occurred in the Douglas economy and business structure. Without comparative data, it is difficult to determine which aspects of the qualitative changes in economic structure and stratification were due to the presence of the energy companies and which were due to other forces in the community, state, or nation. Since the preceding sections of the chapter have been relatively explicit about the postulated or reported role of energy development in the changes described, this topic is not pursued further here. The major changes noted in the economy were in its magnitude and complexity and in the presence of the various energy companies and their representatives.

5.3.5 Consequences of Economic Stratification

5.3.5.1 Ability of the Community to Respond

As described in the previous portions of this chapter, the pregrowth economic stratification system in Douglas was based primarily on land ownership, though particular residents achieved high economic status through professional position or control over other resources. Control over resources and economic status were not evenly distributed among the community residents, nor did residents control all the critical resources in the community. There was considerable disparity in economic status between the large ranching families (who also frequently owned substantial mineral rights) and the wage and salary workers (townspeople or ranch hands). Nevertheless, it does not appear that any single individual or faction had enough control over any of the scarce resources to exert monopolistic control over the community, although in some periods the bankers were reported to have approached this type of

power.¹ To a great extent, in Douglas prior to the study period, tenacity, and the ability to survive economically, rather than to succeed or to become wealthy were the operational economic criteria for economic stature in the community.

In retrospect, it appears that the economic (and political) dominance of the agricultural interests in Douglas may have contributed positively to the community's ability to respond to, and control, the growth that occurred over the study period by providing a force to counteract the progrowth objectives of the energy companies and local business interests. In several areas, principally environmental (water and air) quality and population density, ranchers felt that their economic interests were threatened by energy development. At the same time, ranchers, being the principal private holders of surface and mineral rights in the area, stood to make major economic gains through the development of energy resources. In addition, however, the dominant economic position of the ranchers in the community was accompanied by sense of identification with the community and a commitment to its survival and well-being. This was attributed to the kinship ties between townspeople and ranchers and to the nature of the community itself.

This particular pattern of economic/political power appears to have been influential in shaping the community's response to energy development -- encourage development, but protect the interests of the community. The political and economic power of the community in comparison to the energy companies prior to the establishment of the industrial siting regulations in the mid-1970s was relatively low. The community was generally not successful in obtaining mitigative actions from the energy companies. It was, however, successful in imposing legislation and obtaining assistance to shift much of the cost of development away from

¹The power of the bank was exerted in large part through informal control, since alternative financial institutions were available in Casper, Cheyenne, and Denver, preventing total dominance.

longtime local residents onto newcomers. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 6, the community was also effective in obtaining the attention and assistance of the state. This served to shift the balance of economic power somewhat more in favor of the community.

As described above, the presence of multiple energy companies and the influx of many people who were economically dependent upon energy activities diminished the economic and political influence of the ranchers in Douglas. It is not entirely clear what this shift in the nature and distribution of economic power will mean for the community's ability to respond to future growth, although the response made to the initiatives made by WyCoalGas, NERCO, TVA and Tri-State indicated a firm commitment to protect the interests of community residents and the quality of community life.

5.3.5.2 Distribution of Effects

The existing economic structure of the community and the larger economy obviously affected the manner in which energy project effects were distributed, and the ability of particular components of the population to capture the benefits or avoid the costs of development. The factors which appeared to be most important in determining the distribution of the economic consequences of growth among community residents were control over or access to mineral rights and land equity and financing work skills and experience. For the community, the critical factors appeared to be an ability to tax and an ability to control land use.

The distribution of these factors among the community residents, and their possession by the community have been discussed previously. As expected from the previous discussions, those identified in the community as having captured the greatest economic gains from the development were ranchers in the north who generally benefited from possession of land and mineral rights; longtime resident townspeople, who had acquired land and had access to financing (generally the business owners and

professionals); the local youth and newcomers who were able to capitalize on their employment skills; and, of course, the project sponsors. Those who did not appear to benefit greatly were the elderly, unless they were property-owners (which many were), the wage and salary long-time residents who tended to have limited land investments and a limited ability to capitalize on their labor skills, and the ranchers in the south, who generally had no mineral resources and who suffered from the increased population pressure.

In general, respondents noted an increased availability of jobs and income over the study period. None of those interviewed felt that their access to jobs had been decreased by the rapid growth, although a number indicated that they were not in a position to, or interested in, taking advantage of the new opportunities. Changes in per capita income are discussed in Chapter 8. Until the 1980 census data are available, no definitive analysis can be made concerning the effects of energy development on income stratification. As noted above, residents in Douglas generally felt that access to desirable jobs was relatively open, with age and sex being the principal factors influencing that access.

Access to political positions appeared to have become somewhat less tied to property ownership and economic status over the course of the study period, as indicated above. Nevertheless, except for professional positions, most influential governmental positions continued to be held by those with some substantial economic stake in the community.

5.3.5.3 Relationships Among Residents and Relationship of Residents to the Community

In general, community residents had very few comments concerning the effects of the changes in economic stratification on community relationships. Because no single actor was perceived as dominating the local economy and hence the local community, the majority of community residents appeared to be, and to feel little, affected by the change in the criteria for stratification. Notable exceptions tended to be the

ranchers. Some respondents voiced concern that the change in employment characteristics would result in the conversion of Douglas from a rural retail and service-sector town to a "blue-collar" town. An unanswered question is the specific dimension of this concern. From the limited information available, the issue appeared to be less related to economic status than to image and lifestyle.

The economic power of the energy company managers was reflected by their ability to enter into the upper strata of the community in political, economic, and social activities with relatively little evident status negotiation or comment by local citizens.

The presence of large numbers of workers whose residential location was determined primarily by the geographic location of their work did have a significant effect on the attachment of community residents to the community itself. This has been discussed previously and though related to changes in the economic hierarchy of the community, appears to be more closely associated with the differentiation of the community and the characteristics of newcomers.

The changes in the economic structure of the community also changed the permeability of the community to outside contacts and influence. These changes affected residents' sense of their relationship to community, and are discussed in Chapter 6.

6. CHANGES IN EXTRA-LOCAL LINKAGES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the changes that occurred in the type and patterns of extra-local linkage in Douglas and examines the relationship of these changes to energy development. It also considers the social consequences of these changes.

Of principal interest in this analysis was the manner in which established links were utilized by the community and the organizations located within the community, and in which new links were formed and utilized. Extra-local linkages are discussed in terms of three principal dimensions -- political, economic, and social -- although the distinctions are often difficult to make.

In addition, although the existence of a linkage (established, for example, through the introduction of newcomers with social and political ties to persons and institutions outside the community, or the development of new organizations with official relationships outside the community) is important to describe the relative isolation of the community from the larger society, the utilization of such linkages to provide or remove resources from the community, to exert influence, and to obtain or provide information is often what determines the effect of changes in extra-local linkages on the local community.

Changes in extra-local linkage are often closely related to changes in the other aspects of social organization. An additional purpose of this chapter is to examine the consequences of the observed changes in extra-local linkages on other aspects of social organization, the ability of the community to respond to change, the distribution of effects, and the relationship among community residents.

6.2 Political Linkages

Wyoming is sparsely populated and has few towns. These factors and the relatively short history of most towns in Wyoming have influenced the types of political linkages that have developed between the communities and the state. A large amount of federal land is located in Wyoming, giving the federal government a particularly wide-ranging presence in the state. A factor which complicated examination of the effects of energy development on the role of state and federal government and the magnitude and nature of their contact with Douglas was the nationwide trend to increased governmental activity at all levels during the study period.

Since Douglas was one of the earlier towns established in Wyoming and was one of the larger population centers, it had a prominence in the state not evident from its size. Throughout its history, Douglas exhibited an ability to establish and utilize both formal and informal contacts with the state government. The presence of the state fair, the prisoner-of-war camp, the state law enforcement academy, and the interstate highway attest to Douglas' long-term effectiveness in utilizing community-state linkages to generate a flow of resources into the community.

The presence of official state agencies in Douglas and Converse County was relatively high even in 1970, and little change occurred during the study period. The additional state agencies established in Douglas during the 1970s were primarily public assistance/social services that were being provided across the state to county seats.

According to interviews with community political leaders and representatives of county and state agencies, there had always been frequent contact between state officials and staff located in Cheyenne and state and local representatives located in Douglas. Consequently, it appeared that, prior to the study period, Douglas had already established a relatively intricate pattern of contacts with state government and that

these contacts were maintained, expanded and utilized during the study period to help establish new links between the community and influential state personnel.

Local governmental leaders continually emphasized, for example, that the state government had taken the initiative in overseeing the development process in Douglas based on concern over the apparent effects of rapid growth on Rock Springs and Gillette during the late 1960s. State officials were reported to have conferred with Douglas political representatives in formulating state legislation that would provide additional power to state and local efforts to control and direct growth. The state was credited with much of the pressure that was applied to the community to look carefully at what had occurred in other growth communities, and to prepare themselves to respond to the growth that was impending in Douglas.

Although the state-wide pressure for land use planning and controls that occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s was motivated by national as well as state and local conditions, part of the reason for the strong state initiative was to encourage (force) local communities to establish the legislative mechanisms necessary for local control of energy growth. The state established a high-level commission on land use planning (to which representatives from Douglas were appointed) and held extensive state-wide public meetings to discuss the need for land use planning. The state also provided assistance in the recruiting, hiring, and funding of the first professional planners for Douglas/Converse County.

In 1975, the state introduced the industrial siting act which increased state-community interaction during the permitting process by requiring local participation in the assessment and decision-making process. Although this could be viewed as an imposition of state procedures on local governments and citizens, most of those interviewed in Douglas felt that the siting legislation had provided them with a mechanism for exerting influence on state and corporate decisions. It

also was reported to have encouraged local government officials and agency representatives to become more informed about the trends and situations in their community. Although the state intervention was viewed with somewhat mixed emotions, it provided impetus to the development of local land use control regulations.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, both the state and the federal government established a number of grant and loan programs. Access to these funds required knowledge of the program and its objectives, contact with the program or grant officer, and submittal of a grant application. An important incentive for Douglas officials to establish and maintain contacts with state officials was the availability of these funds. The desire to compete more successfully for these funds was mentioned as one of the factors which encouraged local government officials to employ the professional planners and the town administrator who were so influential in shaping community response. They proved very successful in establishing the necessary state links to acquire a sizeable share of available grant money. The school superintendent was also skilled at developing contacts with the state in order to increase resource flows into the community. His previous contacts at the University of Wyoming provided an additional source of state-level links. To a large extent, these linkages were not present prior to the study period, in many cases because the particular state agencies or divisions had not yet been established. Over the study period, the nature of community-state links was thus modified: prior to the study period, most of these links involved political and informal leaders who were predominately longtime residents. At the end of the study period, many of the links involved newcomers, who were frequently governmental employees rather than elected officials or informal leaders.

Generally speaking, the links between Douglas and the social service agencies of the federal government (HUD, HEW) were established in a dual manner. The initiative in these contacts for standard programs came primarily from the federal agency, while the initiative regarding special programs generally arose from within the community as efforts

were made to capture available funds for community improvement. Again, the presence within the local government of professionals who knew how to prepare applications was seen as essential to the community's success in obtaining funds.

In addition to the political linkages described above, contacts were established between the energy companies located in Douglas and the state government officials. WyCoalGas, Inc., for example, had people attending the legislative session and meeting with various state officials, as did NERCO and PP&L. Although the principal interest of these corporate representatives was on the environmental and permitting regulations, attention was also given to legislation which would affect the resource base of Douglas/Converse County, such as the school tax reform. Not enough information was obtained about the particular nature of corporate intervention in the state political process to define the range of its objectives or its outcome, but the intensity of the linkage and the resources applied to the effort by the corporations indicate that this might well be an area worth further examination.

Because of the small population base in the state, local governmental officials tended to know and communicate informally with government officials in other cities and counties in the state. A number of Wyoming communities (Gillette, Rock Springs, Green River) experienced the first cycle of rapid growth slightly before Douglas. Formal and informal contacts were encouraged between Douglas and these communities in order to:

- 1) Impress upon Douglas residents the need for effective response, and
- 2) Make available some of the experience gained by these other communities.

Numerous examples of formal visits and presentations were mentioned by community residents, and awareness of the "Gillette/Rock Springs" example was cited frequently as a key factor in motivating local response in Douglas.

Political representation at the state level was also affected by the population growth associated with energy development. The larger population base caused by energy development increased the voting power of Douglas and Converse County and may have been sufficient to increase its representation in the state legislature through reapportionment.

6.3 Economic Linkages

Four principal types of economic links between Douglas and the outside were identified. The first were those between the producers of export goods in the local area and the externally located purchasers of these goods. Prior to the growth period, these links primarily involved ranchers and agricultural commodities purchasers. In general, these linkages were between individual producers and corporate purchasers. Negotiations with transporters, including the railroads, were often required. Based on the available information, it does not appear that these linkages affected the community as a whole, but rather that they remained focused on the agricultural producers. Respondents in the community commented little on these linkages, which were seen to affect the community both positively (by facilitating export and sale of locally produced goods and providing income to the community) and negatively (by increasing the dependency of the local economy on outside interests over which the community had little control). Over the course of the study period, the links between energy producing companies (oil and gas, uranium) and their customers overshadowed the agricultural producers in economic importance. This increased the relative frequency of corporate producer - corporate purchaser compared to individual producer -- external purchaser links, while it reduced the relative economic importance of the ranchers (both individually and as a group) as a basic industry, a shift which seemed to have the potential for modifying the long-term stratification system in the community.

The second principal economic linkages were those between local businesses and external suppliers. In the pregrowth period, the most important of these were between local retailer/wholesalers and their outside suppliers, between local bankers and outside financial

institutions, and between ranchers and their outside suppliers. The principal issues regarding these linkages during the preproject period were local monopolies, and the utilization of outside rather than local suppliers by ranchers and the general population. During the pregrowth period, the ability of local ranchers to affect the overall economic status of the community through their purchasing and hiring decisions and control of the banking institutions contributed substantially to their position in the local stratification system.

Over the course of the study period, the importance of the ranchers buying and hiring power was overshadowed by that of the energy companies and their highly paid employees. The "buy local" issue persisted with increased salience throughout the study period because of the greater monetary flow involved. Change in the composition of the demand for supplies and an increased economic flow resulted in economic differentiation, heightened local competition, and the influx of nonlocally (absentee) owned businesses. An increase in nonlocally owned business has been associated with loss of local control, but in Douglas it was also identified as a means of responding to increased demands for goods and services in a way that required relatively little local equity or financing and which substantially broadened the service base of the community.

In a capital-short state like Wyoming, local developers and bankers indicated that the participation of corporations or other actors (including locals with outside contacts) with access to corporate resources or outside financing were critical to the timely development of housing, retail establishments, and community capital facilities, especially under short-term or uncertain growth conditions. In Douglas, one form of the application of corporate resources was the loan or purchase guarantee, which enabled local developers to obtain construction financing to proceed with housing projects.

From the consumers' point of view, the results of extra-locally based participation and the establishment of chain stores/franchises

were generally reported to be favorable. Most appeared to welcome the larger chain stores because they increased variety, lowered cost, and reduced the commercial monopoly of local suppliers. From the point of view of local businesses, the introduction of the large national corporations (including the energy companies) had both positive and negative aspects. To some extent, local businesses were faced with increased competition. Some, however, realized lowered supply costs and expanded markets. The businesses still present in 1981 generally represented the survivors and the benefactors of these changes. Consequently, little complaint about undue adverse effects due to the establishment of competitors in the local economy was heard. However, local business people were concerned -- and complained -- about what they perceived as a tendency by extra-local corporations to use outside contractors for services which could have been provided locally.¹ In general, during the period of rapid growth, competition was not generally seen as a problem, since aggregate supply was often barely adequate to meet demand. By 1981, with the drop-off in uranium employment, economic competition became much more intense. (Without a method of monitoring the comparative survival rates of locally-owned vs. chain/absentee owned businesses, little more can be said about the effects of this type of competition on local businesses.)

An additional aspect of this type of linkage is the employment of workers who are commuters from outside the community. The energy companies located in Converse County drew workers from Glenrock and Casper, as well as from other communities in the surrounding area. This had both positive and adverse effects: it provided an economic linkage which increased competition for employment and siphoned earnings out of the community, while it simultaneously reduced pressure on Douglas facilities and services and moderated the inflow of newcomers and transients.

¹The counter-argument to this is that nonlocal firms are innovative and cost effective, and that ties to such extra-local businesses introduce new technologies and savings, resulting in a net positive effect from the perspective of the community.

The third principal economic linkages resulted from consumer purchases made by in Douglas outsiders and in other communities (principally Casper and Denver) by Douglas residents. Throughout the study period, Douglas received income from the outside through tourism, particularly at the State Fair, which attracted thousands of visitors each year. In addition to providing an economic link which reduced business dependence on local trade, the tourist industry also exposed the community to outsiders.

Historically, the commercial sector of the Douglas economy was limited, and local residents regularly traveled to Casper and Denver for consumer purchases. This linkage outside the community provided exposure of local residents to more complex and formal economic systems, and widened consumer choice, but it inhibited the development and expansion of Douglas' commercial sector. As discussed in Chapter 4, the local economy of Douglas did experience expansion and diversification over the study period as a result of the increase in effective buying power in its trade area. This was generally appreciated by community residents, who favored greater local availability of retail goods and services, but according to interviews with local residents (and analysis of economic growth patterns) it did not appreciably shift the patterns of extra-local shopping ties with Casper and Denver merchants.

The fourth principal economic linkages were those composed of governmental transfer payments. These included monetary flows between the federal/state governments and community residents or local government and between local businesses and state/federal government. This type of economic linkage increased greatly over the study period, as governmental programs and taxing mechanisms expanded and became more complex. The importance of the Douglas area to the state as a source of severance and sales/use tax revenues increased substantially over the study period. Although this study was not able to focus on the implications of this increase to the state-local and state-company relationships, it did appear -- and seems likely -- that areas contributing disproportionately to state resources experienced increased visibility,

contact, and influence with the state. According to census of government data, the percentage of general revenues that were obtained from intergovernmental transfers dropped from 27.1 percent in 1962 to only 6.5 percent in 1977, although (because of the increase in total revenues) the decline in absolute terms was much less.

In both 1960 and 1970, Douglas and Converse County had a higher percentage of the population 65 years of age and over than did either the state or the nation. As a consequence, a relatively high proportion of the Douglas population were recipients of social security, although median family income from social security was below the national average, according to BEA data for the 1970-80 period.

6.4 Social Linkages

Many of the Douglas residents present in the pregrowth period had lived in the area for many years and had relatives in the immediate vicinity. However, the relatively recent settlement in Converse County and the restricted economy (which had necessitated out-migration by local youth) left local residents with kinship ties in other areas which provided important social linkages outside the local area. The rapid influx of newcomers to the community as a result of the increased employment opportunities increased the extent of such social ties between residents and outsiders.

Although there seemed to be a perception among longtime residents that the newcomers were "transients" or "drifters" who maintained no long-term social ties, interviews with newcomers in Douglas (though limited in number) revealed active and often intense ties with family members and friends outside the community. These types of social ties, along with the informal network of friendship, professional and associational (church groups, fraternal organizations), that were maintained by both longtime residents and newcomers served to link the community to the wider society and to provide a source of information as well as social support to the community. This support was particularly important during periods of stress.

A wide array of voluntary organizations with extra-local ties were already present in the community prior to the growth period. No major increases were seen over the study period. Community residents did not note any major changes in organizational linkages during this period, although the establishment of the League of Women Voters was seen as a mechanism for the community to obtain better information concerning state politics. Several residents indicated that changes had occurred over the study period in the activities of girls and women in sports and politics, substantially increasing their opportunities for contact with the outside.

Respondents noted that the consequences of changes in the availability and use of communication systems that had occurred during the 1950s and 1960s (which had increased the linkages of the community residents to the outside) were still being felt during the 1970s. Better roads, telephones in homes, and the widespread presence of television were all innovations whose arrival most longtime residents in the community could clearly remember. These changes appeared to have had complex and pervasive ramifications on the patterns of interaction among community residents and between the community and the outside, some of which affected the way in which the community responded to energy development.

According to descriptions by longtime community residents, the improved roads, and particularly the improved availability telephones and television, increased communication and contact among rural- and town-based community residents in absolute terms. This made it easier, quicker, and cheaper to get together to talk. At the same time, these same factors decreased the relative intensity of the emotional ties between neighbors in the rural areas (by facilitating contact with other community residents) and between community members (by providing increased opportunities for convenient, very personal, contact between community residents and persons living elsewhere). Although only fragments of this analytic perspective were articulated in any single interview, there were many indications that residents perceived and felt

ambivalent about the decreased independence/isolation of the rural areas and of the community.

By 1970, telephones had become a standard household and business utility in all but the most remote ranches of the community. The rapid expansion of population, businesses, and households that occurred during the latter half of the 1970s exceeded the capacity of the telephone system. Service suffered and substantial installation delays occurred. One of the complaints made by newcomers was the difficulty in obtaining telephone service. This was noted as a significant source of frustration and stress -- aggravating the pressures of a "boom" economic situation, a newly established business, and a newly established residence.

6.5 Relationship to Energy Development

During the study period, Douglas generally was linked to the outside through an increasingly dense and complex set of political, economic, and social relationships. Improved communications in the form of transportation, telephone, and television that facilitated contact with outside areas were a result of forces generally unrelated to the energy development growth. To some extent, these changes appeared to have had an interactive effect with those more closely related with energy development, such as the increased contact between local and state officials/staff, between new businesses/industry and their suppliers, and between local residents and other communities. The expanding role of state and federal government in local affairs, a nationwide phenomenon during the 1970s, appeared to be heightened in Douglas both because of state anticipation of growth-related problems and initiatives to encourage Douglas to become prepared, and because Douglas established an aggressive program to utilize and develop state and federal contacts.

Some of the changes in patterns of extra-local linkage appeared to be inherent in the growth process. The shift of economic base away from the agricultural sector, the introduction of new people with extra-local ties due to residence in other places, the introduction of nonlocal enterprises -- all automatically increase communications with outside.

Others, such as the increased contact between locals and state officials and the utilization of outside suppliers, were more subject to the decision and actions of the participants. In general, it appeared that the state, the local government, and the project sponsor each consciously and purposefully took advantage of their existing contacts and utilized opportunities for establishing additional linkages.

6.6 Consequences

6.6.1 Ability of the Community to Respond and Control Growth

The strength of the existing extra-local linkages between Douglas and the state was important in Douglas' ability to call state attention to potential growth problems, and to encourage a positive exchange of information between the state and the community. Together, these resulted in modification of both state and local legislative structure. The linkages established between community officials and the officials responsible for delineating the schedule for further federal coal leasing in the Powder River Basin were reported to have been influential in the decision not to lease coal near the community, thereby extending the time horizon for energy development. Once development began, the ability of the community to provide services for its population in a timely manner was facilitated by the receipt of grants, loans, and technical assistance. Procurement of this assistance was substantially aided by the state and federal linkages that were established by community residents.

There are indications that Douglas' long-standing linkages to the state were influential in focusing the state's attention on the need for land use planning in Douglas and Converse County, and in the community's willingness to participate in the state program for land use planning. As discussed previously, the establishment of formal and enforced planning and zoning in Douglas/Converse County was critical to the ability of the community to control growth.

6.6.2 Distribution of Effects

For many of the same reasons discussed above, the linkages that Douglas residents had with outside decision-makers (legislators, grant distributors and BLM lease siting staff) had the effect of shifting some of the development and some of the costs of development outside the community, distributing them more widely throughout the state. The contacts between the community, the state, and other previously impacted communities were important mechanisms by which the community residents and leaders obtained vital information about the likely consequences of development and strategies for avoiding or shifting them away from the community. In general, much of the leverage applied through extra-local linkages, as well as the resources obtained through these contacts, appears to have been applied community-wide, rather than accruing only to a few individuals or groups. However, disproportionate utilization of particular public services by some groups still led to the differential distribution of costs (inconvenience and unavailable) and benefits (better facilities and programs).

Other distributional consequences identified by residents were (1) the preference shown by extra-locally owned companies, to utilize non-local contractors, a practice which had greater effects on some groups (such as local engineers, suppliers, etc.) than on others, and (2) the disproportionate importance and cost to newcomers (who were more likely than longtime residents to require new telephone services and to depend upon telephone contacts with relatives and friends outside the community) of the substantial delays and problems in obtaining telephone service.

6.6.3 Relationship among Residents and their Ties to the Community

The major question in terms of the effect that changes in the number and type of extra-local linkages had on the relationships among residents and on their ties to the community, is the extent to which the increase in linkages outside the community decreased the intensity and/or magnitude of internal linkages. This affective component of

extra-local linkages is difficult to deal with, yet it may represent one of the more important social consequences of energy-related growth on community social organization and cohesion.

It is clear that Douglas residents effectively utilized their established ties with state officials; the community was clearly not isolated prior to growth. According to local residents, at this time community residence was important in the formation and maintenance of many of these ties. However, at the time of the study, an increased number of linkages had little or nothing to do with the fact that one of the participants was a Douglas resident. It is difficult to determine the extent to which this change affected internal community relationships, although it is reasonably clear that the large increase in the number of people whose extra-local ties were stronger or more salient than their ties to the community affected the aggregate characteristics of community affiliation and lessened the overall sense of community.

By 1981, it appeared that many of the newcomers had become strongly affiliated with Douglas, participating as genuine members of the community. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out many times in the literature, the fact that an increasing proportion of the population placed primary affiliation on an occupation rather than a location (that is, they were more inclined to look for a similar job in a different place than to look for a different job in order to remain in the same place) represented a substantial change in the orientation of community residents.

Finally, it was noted that the increased availability of community resources that resulted from effective and aggressive utilization of extra-local linkages was an important factor in the establishment of the amicable relationships among community residents and the enhancement of the integrative capacity of the community.

7. CHANGES IN INTEGRATION

7.1 Introduction

The concept of integration is central to the study of communities. Community integration has been defined in many ways, many of which have a highly normative tone. For the purposes of this study, integration is defined as the process by which the relationships and actions of people in a community are coordinated and interconnected. Integration thus requires communication and results in internal relationships and collaboration. As with the other social processes addressed in the report (differentiation, stratification, and extra-local linkage), community integration is complex and multidimensional.

One of the functions of a community is to take positive action to provide facilities and services for its residents. Another is to provide a forum for resolution of community-based conflicts among residents and to provide a "sense of community" and a basis for personal orientation and affiliation. In general, it is commonly assumed that the more integrated a community is, the more cohesive it is and the greater the well-being of the majority of community members. High integration implies efficiency in resource utilization because of increased coordination and reduced redundant or cross-purpose effort. It also implies a relatively high degree of community identification and affiliation.

Nevertheless, very high integration can also have negative consequences. It can cause, or reflect, a degree of conformity or similarity which is personally inhibiting and/or stifling, and which may limit the flexibility and adaptability of the community. In addition, it can create such strong boundaries that the incorporation of newcomers is difficult and painful. Particularly in the West, there is a tension in the implicit trade-off between individualism/self-sufficiency and community integration. The maintenance of differences in values, modes of communication and decision-making processes (cultural identity) of

particular cultural groups (Hispanics, Native Americans from different tribes, blacks, Greeks and others) appears to be in conflict with the attainment of high community integration. Consequently, although increasing integration has some positive consequences, and, to a point, can be considered beneficial to the community as a whole, it also has some adverse consequences which should not be overlooked.

Energy growth and the rapid influx of new people and new interests can affect the integration of a community in a number of ways. Temporarily, at least, it clearly has the potential for reducing several aspects of community integration, since some time is required to establish communication and integrate the newcomers into the political, economic, and social activities of the community. The extent of change clearly depends upon the state of the community prior to growth, the characteristics of the newcomers, and the manner of community and corporate response. Energy growth and the influx of newcomers can provide an impetus for increased integration in some communities by making the need for integration more evident and by making the resources for effective response more available.

Douglas is a community which has traditionally maintained a strong sense of identity and community. During the period of relative population and economic stability prior to the rapid growth of the 1970s, Douglas established a comparatively high, and reasonably consistent, degree of social, economic, and political integration. Associated with this was the emergence of community leaders who gained the respect of the community as civic-minded and successful, and who understood the use and limitations of power. By and large, this leadership, along with new additions, persisted throughout the study period. This continuity of leadership both contributed to, and reflected, a sense of coherence in community identity over the entire study period.

7.2 Political Integration

7.2.1 Existing Jurisdictions and Leadership

Without an intensive review of public records and newspaper accounts, an accurate description and chronology of the political issues and relationships in a community is difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, several aspects of the relationships among the major local jurisdictions -- Douglas Town, Douglas School District, Converse County -- can be described for various points in history, although the transitional phases cannot be precisely delineated.

At the beginning of the study period, almost all of the leadership in the community, with the exception of the school superintendent, were longtime residents. At this time, there was a very high degree of overlap between the different jurisdictions. Although communication was maintained among the leaders of the three jurisdictional units, separation of function and minimal cooperation were generally the rule. One reason given for this "tending to one's own business" orientation was the general lack of funds within all three jurisdictions. According to local informants, the county, the town, and the school district were poor until the revenues from the oil and gas started flowing in 1970-71.¹ For this reason, each jurisdiction was concerned about fulfilling its responsibilities within budget, and none had sufficient funds to provide "extras" or to undertake responsibilities outside their jurisdiction.

Beyond noting that cooperation between jurisdictional units was limited during the pre-1970 period, respondents provided numerous examples of a lack of cooperation between residents and leaders. In some cases, there was fairly intense and adamant opposition/resistance

¹After 1970-71, the fiscal condition of the school district and the county were increasingly positive; this substantially affected interjurisdictional relationships, as discussed below. As is often the case, however, the town received substantially less revenues than the other two jurisdictions, although it received the majority of the population.

to leadership's suggestions or programs. Several examples are pertinent. First, a vocal portion of Douglas residents objected to the open-classroom and individualized instruction concept of education advocated by the superintendent of schools in the pre-1970 period. To register their protest (possibly the result of the failure of the school board/superintendent to provide adequate and convincing information about the proposed program) residents repeatedly voted down the bond issues required for new school construction, despite the fact that children were attending school in makeshift classrooms. The first defeat was in 1970. Similar issues were voted down three additional times between 1971 and 1972. Second, in 1968, county residents defeated a proposal for the construction of a new county courthouse, despite the fact that it was advocated by the county commissioners. Third, county residents soundly defeated a proposal to institute county-wide zoning that was placed on the ballot in 1972.

Despite this resistance, however, the leadership of the county generally experienced little political consequences from these protests. In all three cases mentioned above, the leaders persisted in their efforts until the programs they felt were essential to community well-being were implemented. Despite the triple defeat of the school bond issue during the first two years of his service in Douglas, the new school superintendent said that he had received strong and continued support and expressions of confidence from the school board, and that the board had protected him from the pressure of the voters. The standoff was resolved when the superintendent/school board prepared a proposal which substantially expanded the role of the schools into public recreation and adult education, even though the expansion dramatically increased the total cost of the improvements. In 1975, the community passed the \$7.5 million school and recreation center bond issue.

A similar sequence was followed by the construction of the courthouse. In 1973, the county commission renewed its efforts to obtain a new courthouse. In 1974, the county residents passed a \$1.7 million bond issue to allow the construction.

Community leaders were convinced that planning and land use control mechanisms were necessary to prepare for and control growth. Despite substantial local opposition (but with considerable pressure from the state), the mayor and town council of Douglas and the county commission hired a director and a planner for the Converse Area Planning Office. In 1976, the town of Douglas adopted its first comprehensive land use plan and the county commission adopted subdivision and development regulations. In 1978, the county adopted a general land use plan which imposed restrictions on rural residential development.

During the early 1970s, a new, more collaborative relationship began to emerge among the three jurisdictional units. According to community leaders this occurred in response to two factors. First, community leaders in all jurisdictions had a strong commitment to the well-being and protection of Douglas as a community. The maintenance of a quality living environment was identified as a primary objective of local government and community action, and was generally accorded precedence over jurisdictional or individual interests. This resulted in an enhanced appreciation of the need for collaborative efforts. The close-knit relationship of community leaders and decision-makers made peer group pressure an effective enforcement mechanism. Second, community leaders recognized the magnitude of problems facing the community and realized that no jurisdictions' interests were served by allowing inadequate response to community-wide problems. Part of this recognition was related to the leaderships' ability to handle and understand power. As mentioned previously, an important element in the recognition of the need for collaborative and decisive, if somewhat drastic, action was exposure to the problems occurring in other rapid-growth communities.

7.2.2 Creation of New Cooperative Agencies and Coordinative Actions

During the mid-1970s, numerous modifications were made in the organization and relationships of the three jurisdictions. The decision of the school system to develop and maintain the community recreation center eased the demands for recreation that would otherwise have been

placed upon the town government and redistributed some of the administrative and personnel requirements from the town to the school district. It also ensured that the recreational facilities were clearly available to rural as well as town residents.

The establishment of the city-county planning board which used the common staff for town and county land use planning provided a coherent response to pressures for commercial and residential development while allowing programs specific to the different jurisdictions to be maintained. This board and the professional planning staff provided a mechanism for communication between the two jurisdictions in an area where the potential for misunderstanding and conflict was relatively high.

In general, Converse County governmental units and residents responded promptly to state legislation which allowed local jurisdictions to control or manage growth. Converse County was the fifth county in Wyoming to take advantage of the optional one cent sales tax and consistently approved its continuation. In 1974, the same year that the Joint Powers Act was created in the state, Converse County established a joint planning effort with Douglas and Glenrock. In 1974, the county agreed to fund a landfill development to be used jointly by Douglas and county residents. Following the hiring of a town administrator in 1976, collaborative efforts by the town and county increased noticeably. By 1980, the budget of the Joint Powers Board had increased to almost \$200,000, of which the county contributed 90 percent.

Over the same period, the county government became more willing (and able) to support community programs such as those for senior citizens, day-care, group home, and public health, even though the programs were located primarily in Douglas and were functions not traditionally considered the responsibility of the county government. By and large, these changes occurred during the late 1970s, following the initial influx of new population.

7.2.3 Effect on the System

To a large extent, leadership in Converse County maintained substantial coherence through the 1970s, with principal changes caused by the addition of new, rather than replacement of old, leaders. The general stability of leadership was important in two ways. First, it was an indication that both the local leaders and the community residents felt the leadership had been effective (and that it was a role with adequate rewards to prevent leaders from voluntarily withdrawing). Second, it provided a continuity of leadership and policy throughout the growth period that prevented uncontrolled growth and reassured the populace that the leadership was familiar, responsible, and in control of the situation.

As indicated above, the ability of the decision-makers to establish a common position with regard to growth and to collaborate on the solution of community problems greatly influenced the ability of the community to respond. According to knowledgeable respondents, the establishment of a well-organized, decisive, and unified community position on issues associated with rapid growth greatly reduced the sense of confusion and loss of control that could have debilitated governmental decision-making. In addition, preventing extensive in-fighting among community leadership increased the confidence and trust of the citizenry. This was particularly important in moderating the anxiety associated with rapid and drastic changes in governmental organization and function that occurred during this period.

The increased formalization of local government and the influx of large numbers of newcomers appeared to have had a greater effect on the citizen-government than on the leader-government relationships. Interviews with a variety of community residents revealed a diversity of perceptions regarding their relationship to government. Some longtime residents reported that they felt less completely included in the political processes of the community and had less access to and communication with government officials in the late 1970s and 1980s than they had previously. Those reporting this perception were generally not among

the influentials in the community, who indicated that their access to and communication with government had not changed dramatically over the study period.

The newcomers who were interviewed also reported divergent perceptions. Professionals and businesspeople generally indicated that participation in political activities was open to those who were interested and capable. They generally felt that they had been able to enter the political arena quite easily, although relationships with persons viewed as temporary residents were made more cautiously. Other newcomers, particularly the young and the blue collar workers, reported very little interest or participation in local governmental activities.¹ They did not generally perceive an exclusion from the system but rather a separation and lack of contact. They did not report this to be different from other communities in which they had lived.²

7.3 Economic Integration

7.3.1 Economic Leadership

At the beginning of the study period, the economic and political leadership of the community overlapped considerably. Although there was persistent tension between the economic leaders of the town (commercial interests) and the county (agricultural interests), manifest in discussions about community loyalty and complaints about out-of-town shopping, communication and coordination among the business interests was relatively good. This was partly due to the strong kinship ties between the two groups.

¹Although a number indicated that they were careful to attend school functions such as parents' night because they demonstrated an interest in offspring and schooling that affected children's treatment in school.

²Based on this information, it was evident that the welfare of these residents must be protected by the community because it would not be defended by the newcomers themselves, since they generally did not participate in local political activities for some time after their arrival.

Numerous respondents mentioned the important role that local bank officials had traditionally played in shaping and controlling local economic activities. Bankers were perceived to have coordinated economic response in the community by regulating the establishment of new businesses and influencing the continuation of existing ones. As with the political leadership, the bank officials appeared to have established a leadership policy, to which they adhered persistently for many years, in which they utilized their control over loan money to provide economic stability to the town.¹ The introduction of new financial institutions substantially reduced the control exerted by this bank. Changing bank procedures, which involved the imposition of standard review procedures for all loans, and some reportedly clumsy client interactions caused a considerable reaction by long-term residents who consequently split ranks and transferred business to other institutions.

In general, the business community was characterized as ascribing to a "fair play" policy similar to that taken by the political leadership. Although the competitive nature of business does not promote universal collaboration, most business owners espoused belief in the advantages and benefits of fair competition. According to descriptions about the business environment in Douglas and the comments made at a public meeting to discuss the future of Douglas (Mountain West Research - North, Inc. 1981) this principle was generally upheld in practice; new businesses were generally welcomed into the local economy if they were seen as competing on a fair basis.

Prior to 1970, new businesses were seldom established in Douglas. Many of the more important commercial establishments were family-owned. Although family ownership was largely retained in these "core" businesses, a number of chain stores and other individually owned businesses

¹In fact, it was mentioned that local business owners and ranchers went outside the community to Casper to circumvent the control of the bank.

were established in Douglas during the 1970s. A concern voiced by some of the longtime residents was that many of the newcomer businesspeople were essentially managers who had no real personal economic stake in the local economy and who, therefore, would not place the same priority on the vitality and well-being of the entire economy of the local area as those with personal investments in the system.

Despite a continued salience of the "pioneer" - newcomers distinction, the business community appeared to have established a network of relatively cordial and effective relationships. The presence of newcomers with significant economic influence who took an active interest in participation and community development made the local business associations more open to newcomers than previously.

At the beginning of the study period, the chamber of commerce was reported to have been very cliquish, with membership restricted to men. During the study period, these characteristics were modified; the chamber became a more active community organization which (under considerable pressure from several newcomer women) was opened to women. The increased vitality and aggressiveness of the local business associations observed by residents was attributed to the changing economic situation and the influx of newcomers. The business opportunities and novel experiences of the growth period encouraged communication among local businesspeople. The increased emphasis on planning for and assessing the effects of new energy projects also provided further impetus for communication and coordination among the various business interests in the community. This was actively encouraged by the representatives of the energy development corporations, who participated in community business associations, but generally not in a leadership role.

Competition from Casper, whose proximity had historically inhibited the economic development of Douglas, heightened awareness that overall expansion of the Douglas commercial sector would be advantageous, since it would encourage residents to shop in Douglas rather than traveling to Casper. During the rapid growth period in Douglas, business people

generally concluded that the ability to meet demand and to attract business away from Casper were greater problems than excessive competition within Douglas. Consequently, increased emphasis was placed on collaborative effort. The following are frequently noted examples of the increased ability and interest of business and community leaders in collaboration:

- 1) The organization developed to obtain the National High School Rodeo Finals (which was successful)
- 2) The willingness (albeit grudging) to issue an industrial revenue bond for a new, larger Safeway Store
- 3) Serious attention to the development of strategies to diversify the economic base of the community

Several respondents felt that these types of collaborative efforts reflected a substantial, qualitative change in community relationships that indicated a long-term increase in the economic community's ability to address problems collectively.

7.3.2 Community Residents

Residents of Douglas commented primarily on only two aspects of change in local economic relationships. One aspect was the expansion in the number of businesses operating in the community, and the resultant increased availability of goods and services, almost always considered a positive effect. The other was a reduction in the personal quality of business transactions, most pronounced during the 1975-78 period. In general, this did not seem to be associated with local ownership (as opposed to manager-run chain stores), but rather with the familiarity between the customer, the clerks, and/or the owner/manager. Lack of personal recognition and the requirement to show identification for cashing checks or obtaining credit were mentioned frequently as distressing and alienating. This appears to have been particularly important because it was interpreted as indicating that the customer was less firmly linked to the community and had become somehow unknown and therefore "peripheral." By 1981, this effect was reportedly lessening as population turnover diminished; however, it was still sufficiently

marked that a number of residents (almost always longtime residents) specifically mentioned it.

7.4 Social Integration

7.4.1 Centrality of the Community

7.4.1.1 The Pregrowth Period

Respondents' descriptions of the roles and attitudes they had toward the community at the beginning of the study period revealed substantial differences among the different groups. As expected from the research on community differentiation and stratification, these differences corresponded with differences in the economic, political, and social positions held by members of the various groups. Ranchers were likely to report that during the pregrowth period they had placed a very high value on their neighborhood community; the town of Douglas was important but not as central to their everyday lives as their families and rural neighbors. Nevertheless, unlike many towns in the West, the ranchers appeared to identify quite strongly with the community and to feel both a responsibility and an opportunity to participate in community affairs.

The longtime residents of Douglas who were merchants or business families appeared to have had the greatest identification with and stake in the community of Douglas; they comprised the core of the permanent in-town community residents. Community leaders in the 1950s and 1960s were primarily longtime resident merchants and businessmen. In many cases, the same people were civic leaders over this entire period. Because the community was poor, most community activities were modest, frequently requiring personal contributions by the leaders. The measure of a leader's quality was his or her willingness to personally contribute to, or otherwise raise adequate funds for, community events. An example cited several times as typical or "true community-mindedness" was sponsorship of local teams/children to state or regional competitions.

The longtime resident blue collar workers were less likely to have held leadership roles in the community and were less actively involved in organizing community events, although those who were interviewed indicated that they were active in a variety of community organizations from church, to fraternal organizations (especially the Elks), to bowling leagues. Respondents in this group stressed most strongly the completeness of mutual familiarity in the community during the pregrowth period, often describing the sense of satisfaction and security this gave them. There was some indication that members of this group had somewhat stronger ties to their neighborhood than did the business and commercial people who seemed to divide their geographic loyalties between the business area and their residential neighborhood. The relatively few members of this group who were interviewed revealed a history of occupational movement -- workers moved from one job to another as the economy changed. It was not uncommon for members of this group to have spent time as ranch hands. Strong ties with particular ranch families and with the open country were noted.

The few members of the longtime resident Hispanic group who were interviewed reported participation in a variety of community activities. One of those interviewed had served for many years as ombudsman for the Hispanic community and was frequently called upon to assist with crises within the Hispanic population. Not enough was learned about this group to provide an elaborate description of their patterns of interaction within the community.

The teachers were generally described as a group apart expected by the community to behave in an exemplary manner in public, yet not quite incorporated into the longtime resident network. They were reported to have associated primarily within their own group, and to have played only a modest role in community affairs during the pregrowth period.

Many respondents described Douglas during the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s as poor and struggling. The populace was generally described as apathetic, with few taking the initiative to organize

community activities or focusing on community affairs.¹ Only a few community members were identified as having played important civic leadership roles, and those who were thus identified were reported to have performed that function for many years.

7.4.1.2 The Growth Period

During the study period, a variety of newcomers moved to Douglas. A number of them became involved in community events and participated actively in community organizations. Many of them joined existing organizations such as the churches and fraternal groups and participated in activities at the recreation center.

During the growth period, community and recreational facilities were expanded. Longtime residents reported ambivalent feelings about these changes and the participation of newcomers in community affairs. On the one hand, they felt the growth was positive because it provided needed facilities and vitality. The participation of newcomers was welcomed because it indicated commitment to the community and because it provided a mechanism for the newcomers to be integrated into the community and to become familiar to and with longtime residents. On the other hand, the presence of the new facilities and the newcomers changed the comfortable nature of interaction within the community and at these organizations. This was reported to give longtime residents, particularly the older ones, a feeling of strangeness in their own community, and of change in community priorities and focus.

Residents noted a shift from truly "whole community" activities, like the community-wide Saturday night dances or similar events where "everybody" came, to civic or community-based activities with a somewhat more impersonal, less community-oriented air. Nevertheless, newcomers, and the additional money generated by the increased economic activity,

¹This apathy was credited with allowing those who had exerted the initiative to become leaders to institute the changes in community government that took place in the early to mid-1970s.

were generally given credit for providing much of the organizing energy behind community events, such as the fourth of July parade (sponsored by the volunteer fire department and the Jaycees), the Health Fair (first annual held in 1981), and the National High School Rodeo Finals which were initiated during the study period. In addition, many of the persons serving in the publicly visible and generally appreciated community assistance programs -- librarians, nurses, public health officers, senior citizens center -- were newcomers.

Among the changes noted by the rural residents was an increased focus on town life. (The consolidation of schools and the busing of children to town for school was thought to have been particularly important to this process). This change was perceived to reduce the focus upon and self-sufficiency of the rural neighborhoods and families -- a loss. However, it was also seen as providing useful diversity and improved services -- a benefit.

Among the effects of the expansion of commercial and public facilities noted by townspeople was the degradation or destruction of residential neighborhoods. Modifications in zoning, the establishment of one-way streets, and the purchase of houses for use as offices, stores, or for demolition resulted in the residential displacement of some longtime residents, and a sense of "dying" neighborhoods for others. The longtime resident blue collar workers who had lived on the periphery of the town's commercial sector noted this effect most strongly and reported it to have been disorienting and alienating.

Management, business, and professional newcomers to Douglas reported that they had found the community cordial and open to the participation of newcomers who were willing to make the effort to become involved in community activities, but reserved toward those who were perceived as temporary residents. The concept of carpetbagging was present among longtime residents' concerns about the intentions and affects of the newcomers.

The other newcomers appeared less likely to participate in community or civic activities, although those who were interviewed did not indicate that they thought their pattern of participation in Douglas was substantially different from what it had been in other communities. To some extent, all newcomers indicated that there had been a transition period after their arrival. During this period, they generally did not participate very much in community activities. This period was substantially longer for some than for others.

Another factor that limited involvement in associations and community activities was the increased participation of women in the labor force. Work-related commitments decreased the time women had available for recreational or voluntary activities. Respondents in general indicated that work and family demands had increased during the growth period, making more difficult the allocation of time for community-based activities. This observation was supported by the changes that had occurred in the age and labor force participation profiles of the community population between 1970 and 1980. Many of those interviewed commented upon the heavy demands placed upon them by their work during the rapid growth period, indicating that it cut into their discretionary time, and their ability and willingness to participate in community activities.

7.5 Summary and Conclusions

7.5.1 Relationship of Changes in Integration to Energy Development

Energy development appeared to have resulted in countervailing effects on Douglas in terms of integration. Politically, the immediacy of demands created by the rapid growth appeared to have triggered a problem-solving, collaborative approach that actually enhanced integration of the political leadership. Economically, the rapid increase in resources available in the community was attributed with moderate antagonisms or the perception of unmanageable competition between longtime residents and newcomers. Although distinctions remained between "pioneer" family stores and others, they were relatively

subtle and apparently did not prevent cooperation among Douglas merchants.

In social terms, growth was seen as causing the community to become less coherent and less well coordinated. This was due to both the increase in the sheer number of people in the community and the increased diversity of personal background, interests, and lifestyle that resulted from the influx of substantial numbers of newcomers. In 1981, most residents still maintained affiliation with the community, and respondents overall reported that they felt Douglas had a strong identity and provided a sense of community. Nevertheless, by 1981 there were a substantial number of residents who did not report a sense of commitment to, or incorporation in, the community. The presence of such people had the effect of diminishing even the longtime residents' sense of community cohesiveness.

Clearly, however, not all the changes that occurred in community integration can be attributed to energy development. As discussed in Chapter 6, increased communication and the encroachment of national values and perspectives alone would have caused some of the changes that were observed in Douglas.

7.5.2 Consequences

7.5.2.1 Ability to Respond

Douglas exhibited a high ability to respond to rapid energy-driven growth. Although residents present in the mid-1970s stress that the community did go through a period of disorganization and disarray, this phase lasted for a relatively short period of time. Consequently, it must be concluded that the preproject characteristics of the community provided an adequate organizational and attitudinal basis for the community to marshal an effective response. By the end of the study period, it was commonly agreed that Douglas was in a position to handle large increments of growth without danger of serious social disorganization. To a great extent, this was attributed to the degree of

integration and cooperation among political leaders and to the understanding and support of the citizenry.

In addition, it was noted by some residents that the reduced cohesiveness of the community could be beneficial to the community's ability to deal with additional growth. Newcomers to Douglas during the 1970-80 period reported a sense that longtime residents viewed them as intruders, a perception verified by longtime residents who did regret the changing social patterns in the community. By 1981, the longtime residents appeared reconciled to the presence of newcomers and less likely than before to feel as strongly about additional in-migration.

7.5.2.2 Distribution of Effects and Relationships Among Residents

As has been emphasized throughout the report, the ability of community leaders to formulate and implement a decisive and coherent response to the demands of growth was perhaps the most important factor determining the extent of impact on community residents. This ability resulted largely from the cohesive relationship that was maintained by community leaders throughout the study period and the priority that was placed by this group on community well-being. The confidence and ability to utilize political power -- the willingness to delegate, and the insight to support rather than to work against other leaders -- appeared derived from the informal relationships among community leaders and from the sense of responsibility associated with community decision-making.

This is certainly not to say that political and social in-fighting were absent in Douglas. Rather, it appeared that the weight given by both leaders and citizenry to fair play acted as a control to these types of relationships and encouraged policies promoting equal treatment of all residents. The determination not to establish policies or practices which favored longtime residents above newcomers (which was attributed to the leaders' appreciation of the importance of perceived fair play) was also very influential in the distribution of effects within the community. It moderated the ability of the powerful -- either longtime residents or newcomers -- to ignore or go around the

rules to reap additional benefits from the growth. It also provided newcomers with a perception that they were being dealt with fairly by government officials and staff, a factor which positively affected their integration into the community. At the same time, however, it removed from longtime residents a proportion of their sense of individuality and special recognition that was very important to their definition of community integration. It was their loss which evoked the most intense feelings among those interviewed. It should be noted that most longtime residents recognized the double edge of the sword, and while regretting the loss of special treatment, nevertheless strongly believed in fair play: they wished that no change had been necessary, because even the best possible response was painful to them. Indeed, the sense that loss of community position and tightknit relationships were inevitable consequences of growth appeared to comprise a large portion of the affect associated with the discussion of community change.

8. INDICATORS OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

8.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses indications of the social well-being of Converse County residents and their attitudes toward development. Three types of information are presented. The first concerns behavioral measures that have become accepted indicators of social, familial, and personal dysfunction. In many cases, no adequate data are available, and qualitative information from key service personnel must be used. The second is information on other measures pertaining to individual well-being, such as per capita income and unemployment rates. The third is information on the attitudes local residents have expressed toward their community, the changes that took place with previous development, and future development and change.

8.2 Behavioral Indicators of Well-being

The behavioral indicators discussed here include: suicides, divorce, crime, infant mortality, child abuse and neglect, alcoholism and drug abuse, and school dropout and transfers. Since such data are gathered at the county level, Converse County will be the usual unit of analysis rather than Douglas, for which data are generally not available. Similar data for the nation, the state, and the neighboring counties of Natrona (Casper) and Campbell (Gillette), which also experienced considerable energy-related growth, are presented for comparison.

8.2.1 Suicide

Suicide has frequently been identified as an indicator of social integration and well-being. The available data on suicides in Converse County are shown in Table 8-1. As seen in this table, the actual numbers of suicides are low in all years for which data are available. These small numbers make comparison between years or locations highly

TABLE 8-1

Indicators of Well-Being -- Suicide
Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
Wyoming, and United States
1970-1980

Year	Final Population Estimates				Suicides (Rate per 100,000 Population in parentheses)			
	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming
1970	5,934	12,966	51,264	332,422	1 (16.8)	1 (7.7)	15 (29.3)	65 (19.6)
1971	7,387	12,359	53,036	348,050	1 (13.5)	0	15 (28.3)	68 (19.5)
1972	7,552	13,080	53,601	361,142	2 (26.5)	1 (7.6)	14 (26.1)	69 (19.1)
1973	7,264	13,097	54,820	372,482	1 (13.8)	0	10 (18.2)	65 (17.5)
1974	7,896	14,161	57,893	391,509	2 (25.3)	0	16 (27.6)	67 (17.1)
1975	9,116	17,140	62,535	406,683	3 (33.0)	2 (11.7)	7 (11.2)	66 (16.2)
1976	10,185	20,041	65,592	424,178	2 (19.6)	6 (29.9)	11 (16.6)	69 (16.3)
1977	10,810	21,843	68,558	440,801	0	3 (13.7)	6 (8.7)	60 (13.6)
1978	11,976	22,640	71,327	459,466	1 (8.3)	3 (13.2)	16 (22.4)	78 (17.0)
1979	13,384	23,450	72,409	473,465	1 (7.4)	3 (12.6)	10 (13.8)	79 (16.79)
1980	14,069	24,367	71,856	470,816	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Sources: Wyoming, Wyoming Health Systems Agency, 1980 Health Systems Plan, 1981; McCaffrey, personal communication, 11 June 1981, March 1981; Wyoming, Department of Health and Social Services, Wyoming Vital Statistics 1971-1975, 1977; U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, Vital Statistics of the United States (annual report).

unreliable. No consistent local perceptions of suicides were identified during the field work.

8.2.2 Divorce

Divorce has also been frequently used as an indicator of social well-being, although the social meaning of divorce is less clear. The divorce rate (per 1,000 population) in Converse County during the 1970s is shown in Table 8-2. Except in 1974 and 1975, the divorce rates in Converse County were slightly below those for Natrona County rates. Nevertheless, the divorce rate in Converse County more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, rising from 3.0 per 1,000 persons to 8.0 per 1,000 persons. The greatest increases in divorce rates occurred between 1973 and 1974, and between 1979 and 1980.

Community residents interviewed for this study consistently noted the higher number of divorced persons in the community and an increase in the number of children living with single parents or in "mixed" families. Representatives of the law enforcement, social services, and judicial agencies all felt that the lower stability of marriage and its consequences for family structure were related to increases in child neglect and/or abuse. However, each was careful to point out that since public definition of and attention to child neglect changed drastically over this time period, these observations were potentially invalid.

8.2.3 Crime

Table 8-3 shows the case volume of the Converse County District Court in Douglas and Glenrock in 1978 and 1980. Table 8-4 shows the police encounters for the city of Douglas for 1979 and 1980.

According to interviews with the Converse County sheriff and the police chiefs in Douglas and Glenrock, there is no question that the number of criminal incidents increased during the 1970s. As shown in Table 8-5, the rate of indexed crime per 1,000 population in Converse

TABLE 8-2

Indicators of Well-Being -- Divorce Rates
 (per 1,000 population)
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
 Wyoming and United States
 1970-1980

Year	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	United States
1970	3.0	5.5	8.2	5.4	3.5
1971	3.5	5.9	9.2	5.7	3.7
1972	3.8	4.6	9.1	6.1	4.1
1973	4.8	5.9	9.1	6.1	4.4
1974	7.0	4.6	8.7	6.4	4.6
1975	7.2	7.9	9.2	7.0	4.9
1976	6.1	5.1	8.3	6.7	5.0
1977	6.7	7.7	9.1	7.0	5.0
1978	6.8	6.4	9.2	6.8	5.2
1979	6.6	6.6	10.5	7.4	N/A
1980	8.0	9.1	12.0	8.5	N/A

Source: Hall, personal communication, 25 June 1981; U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, Vital Statistics of the United States (annual report).

TABLE 8-3

District Court Case Volume
Converse County
1977-1980

District Court Case Volume	1977	1978	1979	1980
Criminal	47	66	63	NA
Civil	322	372	311	NA
Total	369	438	374	577
Rate per 1,000 population	34.1	36.6	27.9	41.0

Sources: Wyoming, Attorney General's Office, Uniform Crime Reporting -- Crime in Wyoming, 1978-1981; Fetter, personal communication, 29 January 1981.

Note: NA = data not available.

TABLE 8-4

Police Encounters
Douglas, Wyoming
1979-1980

Encounters and Offenses	Douglas	
	1979	1980
Criminal Homicide	0	1
Forcible Rape	1	1
Robbery	5	3
Aggravated Assault	34	27
Burglary	53	75
Larceny	330	331
Motor Vehicle Theft	38	43
Simple Assault	34	33
Vandalism	N/A	N/A
Theft	N/A	N/A
Total	495	514

Sources: Sowell, personal communication, 19 February 1981;
Wyoming, Attorney General's Office, Crime in Wyoming 1980 Summary Report, 1981.

NA = data not available.

TABLE 8-5

Indicators of Well-Being
 Crime Index (per 1,000 Population)
 Converse, Campbell, Natrona Counties, and Wyoming
 1971-1980

Year	Converse County	Campbell County	Natrona County	Wyoming
1971	90 (12.1)	97 (7.8)	2,113 (39.8)	NA
1972	82 (10.8)	303 (23.1)	2,165 (40.4)	NA
1973	151 (20.8)	319 (24.4)	1,497 (27.3)	NA
1974	93 (11.8)	44 (3.2)	3,120 (53.9)	NA
1975	134 (14.7)	57 (3.3)	3,228 (51.6)	NA
1976	423 (41.5)	1,168 (58.2)	3,178 (48.4)	NA
1977	434 (40.1)	1,023 (46.8)	3,700 (53.9)	NA
1978	459 (38.3)	479 (21.2)	3,989 (55.9)	17,388 (37.8)
1979	753 (52.6)	1,106 (47.2)	4,776 (65.9)	21,048 (44.6)
1980	789 (56.1)	1,409 (57.8)	4,805 (66.8)	22,502 (47.7)

Source: Wyoming, Office of the Attorney General,
Uniform Crime Reporting -- Summary Report, 1978-1980.

Note: NA = Not available.

County was 12.1 in 1971, 52.6 in 1979, and 56.1 in 1980. These figures are slightly higher than those for the state.

The data in this table should be viewed with great caution, however, since law enforcement personnel indicated that stringent record keeping procedures had been in place only since mid-1978. There was a common perception among residents of Douglas, particularly longtime residents, that crime had increased substantially. The change from a community in which no one needed to lock doors to one in which there was a perceived need to protect oneself and property were repeatedly given in response to questions about change in the community by longtime residents.

8.2.4 Infant Mortality

One measure of a community's well-being and health status is infant mortality, shown in Table 8-6. The infant mortality rates for Converse County during the 1970s were not stable, fluctuating from 17.8 (per 1,000 live births) in 1971 to 51.3 in 1973 to 6.2 in 1979. Because the rate is computed per 1,000 live births, this instability could be due to the small number of cases upon which the rates are based.

8.2.5 School Dropouts and Transfers.

Another indicator of well-being in a community is the high school dropout rate. Although no data are available on the dropout rates for the Douglas schools during the study period, the Douglas High School guidance counselor indicated that although dropout rates did increase during the 1970s, school drop-out was not considered a major problem. Since a number of factors can influence school dropouts, a comparison with state and national trends is necessary before the figures from a single school district can be interpreted. In Douglas, one cause of drop-out was perceived to be the attraction of high-paying jobs requiring no high school diploma.

A problem identified in many communities experiencing rapid growth has been a high rate of student turnover which results from students

TABLE 8-6

Indicators of Well-Being --
 Infant Mortality Rates^a
 (per 1,000 live births)
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
 Wyoming and United States
 1970-1980

Year	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	United States
1970	43.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	20.0
1971	17.8	34.7	23.1	24.5	19.1
1972	27.5	19.6	18.4	21.8	18.5
1973	51.3	22.3	15.8	18.6	17.7
1974	15.2	11.9	24.8	16.2	16.7
1975	30.8	15.3	20.7	17.3	16.1
1976	28.3	12.7	16.6	16.4	15.2
1977	12.5	15.2	19.3	13.9	14.1
1978	11.0	11.9	13.3	13.0	N/A
1979	6.2	12.5	13.4	13.2	N/A

Source: Wyoming, Department of Health and Social Services, Vital Statistics 1971-75, 1977; McCaffrey, personal communication, 11 June 1981, 12 August 1981.

^aRates are for mortality from 0-12 months.

accompanying transient workers. A constant turnover of students can create a strain on administrative and teaching staff and students. According to interviews with school personnel, the number of student transfers increased dramatically during the 1970s, but had somewhat stabilized by 1980 and 1981. Increased student transfers were associated with increased requirements for special education programs. (Domsalla, personal communication, June 1981; Wheeler, personal communication, June 1981.)

8.2.6 Child Abuse and Neglect

Although no data were available to quantify the incidence of child abuse and/or neglect, interviews with the police, the district judge, and representatives of the Department of Public Assistance and Social Services indicated that these problems increased in number during the 1970s. Child neglect was perceived as showing the greatest increase. Factors responsible for this were thought to include an increase in single parent households, more families with stepchildren, more working parents, shift work, and difficulties in obtaining child care. It is not clear whether the rate of neglect and abuse had increased, but there was general agreement that absolute numbers had increased. The data to document these perceptions were unavailable.

8.2.7 Alcoholism and drug abuse

As with child abuse, data on alcoholism and drug abuse were not available; arrests are poor indicators of the incidence of these behaviors. People in Douglas who dealt with these problems indicated that their prevalence had increased as the population expanded. (Sowell, personal communication, 1981, Gentle, personal communication, 1981, Gubbles, personal communication, 1981). A detailed study conducted in 1976 reported high levels of drug use (Massey 1977). It was not clear how much the rate of alcoholism had increased, but in 1981, most of those interviewed indicated that alcohol abuse constituted a major problem, although most did not feel that its prevalence was not substantially higher in Douglas than elsewhere in the West.

8.3 Material Indicators of Well-being

A number of economic, income, and service indicators are useful measures of a community's social well-being. Those addressed here include per capita income, unemployment, the number of retail businesses, the cost of living, the inflation rate, student/teacher ratios, public assistance and welfare expenditures, and medical facilities.

8.3.1 Per Capita Income

As shown in Table 8-7, per capita income in Converse County increased dramatically during the 1970s. The county kept pace with the increases shown for the United States as a whole until 1977, after which Converse County income levels exceeded the U.S. average.

8.3.2 Unemployment

A high rate of unemployment is associated with social disruption and inequality of income. As seen in Table 8-8, Converse County's unemployment rates were very low throughout the 1970s, consistently below those for Wyoming and the United States.

8.3.3 Number of Retail Businesses

The number of retail businesses in a county is an indication of the availability of retail goods. In general, the greater the number of retail businesses present, the greater the selection of goods. As shown in Table 8-9, the number of retail businesses in Converse County increased substantially (69 percent) between 1971 and 1978. In addition, residents of Converse County were within commuting distance of Natrona County's retail businesses, which also increased in number over this period. The increase in variety of local retail stores was generally viewed as an advantage by those interviewed.

8.3.4 Cost of Living Index and Inflation Rate

One of the negative consequences thought to accompany rapid growth is an increase in inflation and the cost of living. As shown in Table

TABLE 8-7

Indicators of Well-Being -- Per Capita Income
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
 Wyoming, and United States
 1970-1979

Year	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	United States
1970	\$3,873	\$3,613	\$ 4,255	\$3,672	\$3,893
1971	4,162	2,983	4,378	3,847	4,132
1972	4,563	3,899	4,645	4,352	4,493
1973	4,820	4,239	5,344	4,977	4,901
1974	5,189	5,400	6,536	5,662	5,428
1975	5,695	6,347	7,582	6,127	5,061
1976	6,549	7,806	8,823	6,777	6,401
1977	7,096	9,027	10,034	7,649	7,038
1978	8,048	9,959	11,415	8,627	7,040
1979	9,120	10,766	12,842	9,630	8,757

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis,
Regional Economics Information System, 1965-1978, 1979.

TABLE 8-8

Indicators of Well-Being -- Unemployment Rate
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
 Wyoming, and United States
 1978-1980

Year	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	United States
1970	4.2	3.0	4.1	4.4	4.9
1971	3.3	4.2	4.2	4.4	5.9
1972	3.4	2.9	3.6	3.8	5.6
1973	3.0	2.7	3.0	3.3	4.9
1974	2.7	2.7	3.1	3.4	5.6
1975	2.9	2.9	3.6	4.2	8.5
1976	2.3	3.4	3.0	4.1	7.7
1977	2.8	3.1	2.6	3.6	7.0
1978	2.7	3.1	2.4	3.3	6.0
1979	2.1	2.6	2.2	2.7	5.8
1980	3.1	3.8	3.1	3.9	6.6

Source: Wyoming, Employment Security Division, Unemployment Data 1970-1980, 1981.

TABLE 8-9

Indicators of Well-Being -- Retail Business
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties,
 and Wyoming
 1970-1980

Year	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming
1970	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,517
1971	52	86	313	2,558
1972 ^a	72	95	386	3,142
1973	55	87	305	2,573
1974	62	95	366	2,847
1975	73	95	378	2,890
1976	80	103	388	3,044
1977	87	117	443	3,249
1978	88	132	441	3,251
1979	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1980	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns: Wyoming (annual); 1972 Census of the Retail Trade, Vol. 2, Pt. 3: North Dakota-Wyoming.

^aData may not be strictly comparable due to different source.

8-10, the cost of living in Converse County was higher than in Cheyenne between 1978 and 1980. In the same table, it can be seen that the county's rate of inflation was below the state's in both 1979 and 1980. These measures are highly unstable, however, and should be viewed with caution. Table 8-11 shows a comparison of grocery prices for a standard "market basket" in Douglas and Billings, Montana, a regional trade center not considered impacted by development. The difference is less than one percent.

8.3.5 Student/Teacher Ratio

As shown in Table 8-12, the student/teacher ratio in Converse County fluctuated from 15.5 to 18.1 during the 1971-1980 period. These ratios were slightly lower than the state ratios in most years. Aside from 1975 and 1977, the student/teacher ratio remained below 18 during the 1971-1980 period. This ratio was considered more than adequate by school officials. (Wheeler, personal communication, June 1981).

8.3.6 Public Assistance and Welfare

Representatives of the helping services in Converse County felt that the use of and demand for these services had increased during the latter part of the 1970s. This increase was attributed to two factors. First, there was an influx of persons knowledgeable about the services provided by these agencies. These persons availed themselves of the services offered, thus increasing demand and bringing about the expansion of the services. Second, as the range of services expanded and efforts were made to increase the services available, an increasing number of residents began to participate in these programs. It was consistently noted that both factors were important to interpret data on service utilization. By 1980, almost all of the helping service personnel (except medical personnel) indicated that they felt reasonably in control of the current situation. Table 8-13 shows the total Department of Public Assistance and Social Services expenditures for various assistance programs in Converse County for 1976-80. Table 8-14 shows expenditure rates per 1,000 population. These data reveal

TABLE 8-10

Indicators of Well-Being -- Cost of Living Index and Inflation Rate
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties
 Cheyenne, and Wyoming
 1978-1980

Year	<u>Cost of Living Index</u>			Cheyenne	<u>Inflation Rate</u>			Wyoming
	Converse	Campbell	Natrona		Converse	Campbell	Natrona	
1978	103.74	106.25	105.90	100.0				8.4
1979	107.92	111.89	109.34	100.0	12.55	13.89	12.55	13.55
1980	106.97	111.92	107.08	100.0	12.16	12.45	12.16	12.50

Source: Wyoming, Department of Administration and Fiscal Control, Research and Statistics Division, unpublished data, 1978, 1979, 1980.

TABLE 8-11

Indicators of Well-Being --
Market Basket Survey
March 1981

Market Basket	Douglas	Glenrock	Billings
1-1/2 lb. Hamburger	\$ 2.23	\$ 2.32	\$ 2.31
Bread	.79	.94	.93
Butter (lb.)	2.11	2.17	1.90
Milk (gal.)	1.24	1.37	1.20
Frozen Orange Juice (6 oz.)	.75	.73	.50
Eggs (dozen)	.77	.86	.86
1-1/2 lb. Lettuce	.67	.58	.83
Green Beans	.58	.52	.53
Cookies	1.37	1.45	1.39
Total	\$10.51	\$10.94	\$10.45

Sources: Mountain West Research - North, Inc. 1981; Billings Gazette, 11 March 1981.

TABLE 8-12

Indicators of Well-being -- Student/Teacher Ratios
 Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties and Wyoming
 1972-1980

Year	Converse County	Campbell County	Natrona County	Wyoming
1972	17.0	15.0	20.6	18.2
1973	15.5	15.0	21.5	18.7
1974	17.3	15.5	20.8	10.5
1975	18.0	14.6	22.2	18.6
1976	17.5	14.9	21.4	18.4
1977	18.1	14.5	22.1	18.4
1978	17.3	15.2	21.4	18.2
1979	16.8	15.4	20.7	17.8
1980	17.4	16.1	20.4	17.7

Source: Wyoming State Department of Education, Report of Staff, Teachers/Pupils/Schools and Enrollments (annual reports 1970-19).

Note: Figures for School District No. 1 from 1977 to 1980 were: 18.1, 17.3, 16.8, 17.4.

TABLE 8-13

Indicators of Well-Being --
 DPASS Expenditures by Service
 Converse County
 1976-1980

Service	Expenditure				
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
AFTC	\$82,019	\$84,362	\$111,408	\$149,417	\$181,501
Food Stamps	79,014	82,830	87,457	87,716	116,254
Foster Care	2,342	3,596	4,401	9,674	4,808
Child Welfare	38,436	40,439	18,545	32,980	23,862
Medicaid	10,157	19,718	17,056	25,809	26,963
MMP	24,229	28,398	31,857	29,780	33,080
--Prescription Drugs	17,597	16,655	22,806	21,706	27,072
General Assistance	3,771	8,791	7,502	13,773	5,594
Emergency Assistance	3,501	3,815	7,310	6,757	8,129

Source: Wight, personal communication, 1981.

TABLE 8-14

Indicators of Well-Being — Public Welfare Expenditures
(per 1,000 population)
Converse, Campbell, and Natrona Counties, and Wyoming
1972-1980

Year	Food Stamps			General Assistance			Children Receiving Services				
	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming
1972	N/A	N/A	N/A	\$ 383	\$223	\$453	\$268	\$2,261	\$ 576	\$1,516	\$1,006
1973	N/A	N/A	N/A	398	185	513	263	2,277	883	1,542	958
1974	N/A	N/A	N/A	327	68	604	282	2,454	1,153	1,579	1,053
1975	N/A	N/A	N/A	493	173	683	413	2,035	1,289	2,414	1,788
1976	\$7,758	—	\$10,502	370	144	366	377	3,774	2,169	4,166	3,152
1977	7,662	978	8,097	813	331	540	488	3,740	2,456	3,549	2,952
1978	7,303	1,648	6,695	626	414	469	435	1,548	1,606	1,255	1,043
1979	6,554	3,195	6,725	1,029	660	763	709	2,464	2,224	992	1,219
1980	8,263	4,693	12,256	398	348	581	500	1,696	2,380	863	1,214

Source: Mountain West Research, based on data provided by Wlght, personal communication, 1981.

TABLE 8-1A (cont.)

Year	AFDC				Foster Care				Emergency Assistance			
	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming	Converse	Campbell	Natrona	Wyoming
1972	\$ 7,860	\$3,804	\$15,127	\$ 9,967	\$ 33	\$ 0	\$167	\$192	\$225	\$265	\$512	\$230
1973	6,803	3,658	15,728	10,274	28	0	218	241	291	203	517	231
1974	7,169	2,601	20,071	11,265	304	78	221	332	185	129	470	208
1975	6,590	1,644	16,900	10,312	587	210	274	393	277	140	412	235
1976	8,053	1,498	16,740	11,378	230	196	704	436	344	201	458	258
1977	7,804	2,107	15,766	12,440	333	500	568	411	353	250	388	287
1978	9,303	3,580	13,287	11,792	367	570	359	382	610	314	457	357
1979	11,164	4,698	14,062	13,289	723	522	230	445	505	272	506	361
1980	12,901	7,403	16,543	15,870	342	713	92	322	578	285	576	446

Source: White, personal communication, 14 January 1981.

that, with the exception of general assistance, emergency assistance, and children receiving services, per capita welfare and assistance payments were substantially higher in Converse County than in Campbell County, but were substantially lower than those in Natrona County. The director of the public assistance agency said that the discretionary use of funds and different policies in area offices made comparison of rates difficult. Based on her conversations with other directors, she did not feel that Converse County had a significantly greater demand for public assistance/ welfare. (Gentle, personal communication July 1981.)

8.3.8 Medical Facilities

A 32-bed county hospital was located in Douglas throughout the study period. In 1979 and 1980, the hospital occupancy rate was approximately 60 percent. At the time of the study, the hospital was served by three physicians, one surgeon who provided part-time coverage, and a visiting radiologist (from Casper). During the study period, the hospital experienced increased demand for emergency and obstetric/pediatric services. (Births in the hospital increased from 185 in 1978 to 285 in 1979 to 303 in 1980). Some dissatisfaction with the quality and availability of health care was expressed by those interviewed.

8.4 Indicators of the Attitudes and Perceptions of Community Residents

8.4.1 Survey Results, 1975-1976

A number of surveys have been conducted in which Converse County residents were asked to evaluate the community's facilities and their quality of life. A study carried out by the University of Wyoming in 1975 included Converse County when it was experiencing rapid energy growth. Thompson (1980) presented findings related to the anticipation of economic opportunities and lifestyle changes. These results are shown in Tables 8-15 through 8-20. Most residents (89.7) percent anticipated economic opportunity to stay the same or increase as a

TABLE 8-15

Belief that Industrial Development
Results in Economic Opportunities^a

County	Length of Development	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	Total Respondents	Index Mean	Type of Development
Campbell	10 yrs.	11.5	53.6	20.1	13.9	0.9	209	2.39	Extraction
Converse	10 yrs.	9.8	56.7	23.2	9.5	0.8	254	2.35	Extraction

Source: Thompson, James G., Reaction to Energy Development in the Northern Great Plains, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Chicago, 1980.

^aEconomic Opportunity Index ranges from 1 to 5, with one being equal to "strongly agree." The responses to the following questions were averaged in the above analysis:

- (1) There will be more tax money available for better schools.
- (2) There will be more jobs available so that young people will be able to remain here rather than having to move away.
- (3) We will have better community services, such as improved health care.
- (4) Incomes for local people will improve.

TABLE 8-16

Differences in Belief in Economic Opportunity Between
Occupational Groups in Different Counties

County	Length of Development	Professional and Business				Skilled and Semi-skilled				Unskilled and Unemployed				Retired		Type of Development
		Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	Dis- Agree	Agree	
Campbell	10 yrs.	38%	38%	86%	0%	67%	12%	70%	10%	100%	0%	62	14	0%	14	Extraction
Converse	10 yrs.	52	17	71	6	73	7	62	13	62	14	62	14	100%	62	Extraction

Source: Thompson, James G., Reaction to Energy Development in the Northern Great Plains, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Chicago, 1980.

Note: "Strongly agree" and "Agree" responses were combined to create the Agree category; "Disagree" and "Strongly disagree" were combined to form the Disagree category.

TABLE 8-17

County Differences in Belief that the Lifestyles Changes Resulting from Industrial Development will be Undesirable

County	Length of Development	Strongly Agree			Disagree		Total Respondents	Index Mean	Type of Development
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)			
Campbell	10 yrs.	20.6	36.2	21.1	16.9	5.2	213	2.49	Extraction
Converse	10 yrs.	31.3	44.8	14.7	8.1	1.2	259	2.03	Extraction

Source: Thompson, James G., Reaction to Energy Development in the Northern Great Plains, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Chicago, 1980.

Note: Lifestyle Change Index ranges from 1 to 5, with 1 being equal to "Strongly Agree." Agreement with the index indicates lifestyle changes due to development will be undesirable; questions averaged in this analysis are:

- (1) People will be less united and friendly because of the influx of many newcomers.
- (2) There will be an increase in crime and illegal drugs.

TABLE 8-18

Satisfaction with Selected Community Services and Facilities
 Douglas
 1975
 (percent of total)

Services and Facilities	Douglas			
	Satis- fied ^a	Neutral	Dissatis- fied ^b	(N)
Law Enforcement	89	2	9	(238)
Fire Protection	98	1	1	(240)
Water Supply	20	7	74	(257)
Sewer Service	60	8	32	(256)
Garbage Collection	66	6	28	(252)
Telephone Service	89	2	9	(247)
Streets, Roads	39	9	52	(255)
City Planning	36	21	43	(201)
Elem. School	79	7	13	(68)
High School	81	6	13	(67)
Day Care	91	8	2	(65)
Present Dwelling	91	5	4	(257)
Medical Services	70	7	23	(241)
Mental Health	20	15	65	(79)
Indoor & Outdoor Sport Facilities	59	21	20	(212)
Amusements	42	17	40	(229)

TABLE 8-18 (cont.)

Satisfaction with Selected Community Services and Facilities
Douglas
1975
(percent of total)

Services and Facilities	Douglas			
	Satis- fied ^a	Neutral	Dissatis- fied ^b	(N)
Educational & Cultural Program	50	23	27	(202)
Community Rec- reation Program	63	19	17	(197)
Social Services & Welfare Program	63	18	18	(49)
Programs for Senior Citizens	94	3	3	(150)
Shopping Facilities	64	11	25	(252)
City Government Organized Clubs & Activities	48	16	36	(237)
	88	8	4	(229)
Mail Service	95	2	2	(255)
Religious Ser- vices & Churches	98	1	1	(233)
Household Services	75	4	21	(223)

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Final Environmental Statement, Eastern Powder River Coal, 1979.

Note: Figures in this tables are computed from the frequency distributions calculated from the percentage tables in Uhlmann, et al., 1976. "Don't Know" responses have been deleted from the percentage bases. In every case, the number of "Don't Know" responses may be computed by subtracting the (N) reported from 254.

^aIncluding the responses "Very Satisfied" and "Satisfied."

^bIncluding the responses "Dissatisfied" and "Very Dissatisfied."

TABLE 8-19

Perceptions of Loss of Personal Influence in the Community
as a Consequence of Energy Development
Campbell County (1974) and Douglas (1975)

Item and Location	Strongly Agree	Percent of Total			Strongly Disagree
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Local people will lose control over important decisions that affect the community life (Campbell County, N=219)	17	32	13	30	8
Potential development will lessen my voice in the community (Douglas, old-timer subsample only, N=166)	1	30	42 ^a	24	4

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Final Environmental Statement, Eastern Powder River Coal, 1979.

^a"Don't Know" responses are included in the "Neutral" category. For the Douglas old-timers, the "Don't Know" of the subsample responses account for 32 percent.

TABLE 8-20

Attitudes About the Effects of Energy Development upon
Community Cohesion and Friendliness
Douglas (1975)

Item and Location	Percent of Total				Strongly Disagree
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
<u>Douglas</u> (Old-timers subsample, N=166)					
Newcomers are friendly and cooperative	2	63	33 ^a	2	0
Interaction between newcomers and old-timers is friendly	1	46	43 ^a	10	0
Newcomers will be good for Douglas	2	49	40 ^a	8	1
<u>Douglas</u> (Newcomer subsample, N=85)					
Old-timers are friendly and helpful	12	78	5	4	2
Interaction between newcomers and old-timers is friendly	1	44	33 ^a	21	1
Old-timers think newcomers are good for Douglas	0	39	31 ^a	29	1

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Final Environmental Statement, Eastern Powder River Coal, 1979.

^a"Don't Know" responses were included in the "Neutral" category.

result of energy development. Persons engaged in agriculture were slightly less likely to anticipate economic opportunity. The expectations concerning changes in lifestyle indicated that most of those interviewed felt energy development would result in less unity and friendliness and more crime and illegal drug use. Interviews conducted at the time of this study indicated that residents felt these expectations had been confirmed.

Uhlman (1976) reported results of a survey conducted in 1975 concerning citizen satisfaction with community facilities and services. As shown in Table 8-18, the principal areas of dissatisfaction in Douglas included water supply (74 percent dissatisfied), mental health services (65 percent dissatisfied) streets and roads (52 percent dissatisfied), and city government and city planning (36 percent and 43 percent dissatisfied, respectively). Many of these services underwent extensive upgrading after 1975. Interviews for this study did not reveal similar levels of dissatisfaction, although the actual distribution of perceptions concerning these factors cannot be known in the absence of a sample survey.

The survey information shown in Table 8-20 indicates that in 1975, only 31 percent of the old-timers in Douglas felt that energy development would lessen their voice in the community, while 65 percent felt that the newcomers were friendly and cooperative and 51 percent felt that newcomers would be good for Douglas (only 9 percent were in disagreement). Newcomers in Douglas generally agreed that old-timers were friendly and helpful (90 percent in agreement). Newcomers were almost evenly divided in their opinions about whether newcomers were perceived by old-timers as good for Douglas (39 percent agreed, 31 percent were neutral/don't know, 30 percent disagreed).

Based on interviews conducted in Douglas and Glenrock in 1981, when the rate of growth had slowed and several uranium mines had reduced employment, it appeared that two types of newcomers were perceived as being associated with energy development and detrimental to the

community. The first were characterized as the "camp followers" -- transients who come to the area in hope of employment, but with few skills, poor work records, and few or no resources with which to live while looking for work. They were perceived as being dependent upon public welfare and highly disorganized in their personal lives. They were generally considered to have the greatest and worst effect on the community. The second were the "floaters" -- construction workers who stayed in the community for only a short period of time, earned high wages, but established no social ties. Although this group was not perceived to be such a drain on community resources, they were perceived as causing difficulties in schools and contributing to the lack of personal familiarity.

The strong conservatism of the longtime community residents, especially the leaders, was illustrated repeatedly in examples given, complaints, expressed, and positions articulated. For example, respondents were asked to evaluate the refusal of the community to pass the school bond issue even though elementary classes had been held at the fairground for four years. A very high proportion of the respondents generally saw the opposition to the bond issue as understandable and responsible civic concern over educational approaches and fiscal management. They also indicated little attention to, or concern over, the fact that the community's youth had gone to school for so long in makeshift and temporary facilities. (People had been pressuring for a long time to make use of the fairground buildings; the fairground wasn't so bad, they said).

Concern over the survival and well-being of the community per se was very powerful among a number of those interviewed, particularly the pioneer families, the ranchers, and the longtime resident blue collar workers. Members of these groups were most likely to articulate concern that the qualities they cherished about their lives in Douglas (their sense of belonging, the maintenance of an established and orderly way of life, and their sense of being treated as a particular person worthy of individual and personal attention) had been permanently affected by the increased number and flow of people in the

community. This was perceived as resulting from a change in the community rather than from a change in themselves or their personal situation.

Interviews in the community in 1981 gave contradictory information about whether leaders in the community had resisted or encouraged the impending development of energy resources in the area. It was repeatedly stated that Douglas residents were cognizant of the problems that had been created in Gillette and Rock Springs by energy growth and that they feared similar consequences in Douglas. Throughout the interviews with community leaders and agency personnel, it was stressed that the community was reluctant to experience the magnitude of change anticipated with energy development proposed for the area and that there was resistance to this course of events, but that there was a recognition that the development was "inevitable". The inability of the community to prevent the change -- the inevitability of the development -- was stressed repeatedly. As part of these discussions, it was also stressed that Douglas residents, including those in the rural areas, had a commitment to the community -- to the quality of community life and to their participation in community affairs -- that was very important in preventing them from either obstructing action or withdrawing when events did not conform to individual or group preferences.

The group of longtime residents identified as most opposed to development throughout the study period were the ranchers south of the Platte River who felt that the additional regulations, the additional people, and the additional demands for water would jeopardize their livelihood and their preferred way of life.

According to the interviews conducted for this study, the potential for rapid growth was also greeted with ambivalence and concern by many of the longtime residents who were merchants. The explanation given for this response was that the stability in the community had resulted in a distribution of opportunities and patterns of competition that

were well established and generally satisfactory to the important merchants. There was also a deep appreciation among this group for the informality, familiarity, personal recognition, and general small-town atmosphere of the town.

However, there were other indications that some of the important leaders in the community at that time were very positive toward development in the early 1970s and took action to promote it. The chamber of commerce, for example, publically took a pro-growth posture toward the proposed WyCoalGas project in the early 1970s.

The longtime residents who were smaller merchants or blue collar workers generally indicated that they viewed the growth and the resulting changes in negative terms. However, they were vague about their position during the pre-growth period, and it does not appear that many of them had taken a public position or any action to prevent the growth. Their opposition to the growth was based primarily on their appreciation for their role in the community prior to development (they knew everybody, were treated as an individual, and knew how the community worked) and the pre-growth character of the community itself and only secondarily concerned with the more material changes that were anticipated to occur. (They generally maintained this position in 1981 regarding additional growth)

The longtime Mexican-American residents also did not appear to have formulated a clear position with regard to development prior to the growth, largely because the consequences to them and the community were not clear. These individuals expected that they would benefit from the lessening of the same small-town characteristics that the merchants and blue collar workers wanted maintained. The decrease in familiarity and in network density was seen by them as increasing their personal freedom within the community and as providing them with additional opportunities.

Throughout these interviews, the importance of the history of the community as a pleasant, stable, rural community was repeatedly

stressed. Indeed, Douglas has remained almost at equilibrium since the early 1900s. It managed to maintain its population and economy despite its dependence upon agriculture during a period when most communities in similar situations experienced substantial population decline. This stability, and a basic positive evaluation of the community, made the potential for substantial change in community characteristics threatening for many longtime residents and was reported to have prompted a reponse in the community that was at once defensive and initiative-taking. According to the interviews, community leaders were determined that Douglas and its residents would be protected from the most severe negative consequences of development and that the community would not be destroyed. However, a significant roadblock to realizing this goal was the lack of experience and expertise of community leaders in dealing with growth, and the conservative, no-risk orientation of the policy.

In general, at the time of the study, residents of Douglas had not collectively or individually developed a clear or specific definition of the impact period. Neither did they have a definitive appreciation of the composition of the energy projects that resulted in Douglas' rapid growth. Given the number of different actors involved and the nature of the development, this is not surprising, but it is of interest that none of those interviewed about the growth pattern in the early 1970s spontaneously mentioned the construction of the fourth unit of the Dave Johnston Plant (which went into operation in 1972). Unless associated with the projects through employment or work-related responsibility, most of those interviewed could not be specific about the schedule, work force characteristics, or even the names of the major projects or companies, although most named a few of the major companies involved. (Exxon, NERCO, Bear Creek, Kerr-McGee, and PP&L were the commonly mentioned.)

A workshop sponsored by WyCoalGas, at which community residents discussed their expectations and hopes for the future of Douglas, produced some revealing assumptions and perceptions about the previous

growth rates. Many of the participants at the workshop, who appeared reasonably representative of the community, implicitly defined the growth experienced by Douglas and Converse County between 1970 and 1980 as "moderate" when utilizing past experience to predict the future. This indicates that many Douglas residents did not fully appreciate how high the rate of growth was during the mid- to late-1970s, even though they lived through it and had been exposed to population forecasts and census results in the local paper about future growth.

The absence of a sense of having been specifically "impacted" may have been due, in part, to the multiplicity of projects which prevented any single employer from dominating local economic conditions, and, in part, to the lack of a build-up/cutback pattern and large construction work force in the immediate vicinity of Douglas. In addition, the fact that the Panhandle Eastern Coal Gasification Project, the single project that was forecast to cause the greatest direct effect on Douglas, did not materialize as expected during the second half of the 1970s, may have also moderated the sense of explicit impact.

9. SUMMARY

9.1 The Community Prior to Development

Douglas is located on the North Platte River in the southeastern quarter of Converse County. The county is in the east-central portion of Wyoming, within the major energy resource belt of Wyoming. Located on rolling, semi-arid prairie, with foothills and mountains to the southwest, Douglas is twenty-seven miles east of Glenrock, the other major residential center in Converse County, and about sixty miles east of Casper, the county seat of Natrona County and major regional center.

The first white settlement in the Douglas area occurred in the 1880s, and involved conflict with the Sioux over hunting grounds. The town of Douglas was platted in 1886, concomitant with the arrival of the railroad. Because of the variety of energy resources present in the county -- oil, gas, uranium, coal -- residents of Converse County were exposed to energy development in one form or another throughout the 1900s. Prior to the 1970s, however, most energy development had been in the western portion of the county, close to Glenrock. Nevertheless, the construction of a two-unit generating facility (the Dave Johnston Plant), oil recovery and refining, and uranium mining and milling in the 1950s and 1960s increased the assessed valuation in Converse County substantially, providing a resource base for county government and school activities.

Despite the energy development, Douglas town, the county seat of Converse County, remained primarily an agricultural and administrative service center through the 1960s, providing those goods and services to area farmers and ranchers that they did not obtain in larger center like Casper, Cheyenne, or Denver.

Historically, Douglas has been one of the major towns in Wyoming, a position which was early established and continuously utilized to forge close and powerful links between the community and the state.

Both Converse County and Douglas had experienced variable trends in population. In 1940, the population of Converse County was 6,631 (giving a county-wide population density of 1.60 persons per square mile). As agricultural activities were consolidated during the 1940s, the county population fell to 5,933 in 1950, rose to 6,366 in 1960 and fell to 5,938 in 1970 before rising dramatically to 14,069 in 1980. In Douglas, the pattern was somewhat less marked, 2,544 in 1950, 2,822 in 1960, 2,677 in 1970 and 6,030 in 1980.

According to local residents, prior to the energy growth period of the 1970s, Douglas was a relatively poor community, with close economic interdependence between the agricultural sector, the professionals, and the merchants. Extremes in wealth were made obvious, since people at different levels were similar in their patterns of recreation, dress, and consumption.

Prior to energy development, the main source of income to the community were the ranches -- large ranches to the north of town, smaller ranches to the south -- so ranching interests were well represented in the financial institutions and county political positions, and ranchers were generally catered to in terms of policy.

As a consequence, the major organizations were those dealing with land, livestock, financing, and water. The BLM and Forest Service were important to the economic base because of the substantial amount of federal land in the county.

County leadership was strongly dominated by ranchers, while town leadership was generally in the hands of merchants and professionals. However, because of Douglas's history of settlement, many of the ranchers were kin to the townspeople, which provided a degree of overlap in county/town activities and interests that were lacking in many small agriculturally based towns. Nevertheless, town and county had a history of conflict and of perceived differences in self-interest that had resulted in little cooperative spirit between the two governmental units.

Prior to growth, most residents appeared to have viewed Douglas and the surrounding area as a good place to live and raise a family -- a place where one's roots were, -- although limited in terms of economic opportunity or variety.

9.2 Description of Energy Projects and Summary of Project Inputs

During the 1970s Douglas and Converse County experienced the largest growth rate in Wyoming. This growth was due almost entirely to the primary and secondary effects of energy development.

During the 1965-79 period, Converse county saw a major expansion in uranium mining and milling (Kerr McGee, Exxon, Bear Creek, TVA, Teton Exploration) followed by a sharp decline in 1980-81 as the entire U.S. uranium industry was affected by severe over-supply and falling prices. In addition to the uranium activities actually under way, several more (plus expansions) were proposed for the area. In 1979, county employment in uranium was estimated at about 1,250 workers.

Employment in coal mining and coal-fired electrical generation was estimated at about 500 in 1980 and 1981 with at least one additional coal mine proposed for the county and an additional generating facility being discussed. In addition, throughout the 1970s, a large-scale coal conversion facility was being proposed for construction in Converse County.

Oil and gas exploration, recovery and refining also expanded during the 1970s, although little accurate information is available concerning the number of drilling rigs and oil and gas workers actually present during the 1970s.

In addition to the energy development activity occurring in Converse County, Douglas was affected by the power plant construction in Wheatland and by the power plant, coal mining and oil and gas activities in Campbell County.

Most of the development took place more than ten to fifteen miles outside of Douglas. None was visible from the town.

Although some of the uranium companies contributed financial support to the development of worker housing by guaranteeing sales for developers, little was done in the way of explicit company-sponsored mitigation.

9.3 Phases of Development

9.3.1 Initial Growth Then Pause: 1970-1973

During this phase, Douglas experienced an initial sharp rise in population between 1970 and 1971, which reversed the trend of population decline. Then, despite intense talk and numerous active proposals for development, the population in both Douglas and Converse County dropped -- both from 1971 to 1972 and from 1972 to 1973. Prompted by the rapid energy growth occurring in neighboring communities, especially Gillette and Rock Springs, this period was used by Douglas and Campbell County residents to formulate their approach for controlling the rapid growth they saw impending and for protecting the valued aspects of the community. According to community residents, it was during this period that town and county residents concluded that mutual cooperation was necessary to ensure the community's well-being.

9.3.2 Period of Rapid Growth 1973-1979

During this phase, the population of Douglas grew 96 percent -- from 3,056 in 1973 to 5,992 in 1979 -- not including population located in the area immediately adjacent to the town boundaries. The county grew by 84 percent during this same period. During the early years of this period, the community experienced considerable stress as it organized its response and marshaled its resources. By 1976, however, respondents reported that the community's response was in motion and that growth was largely under control.

9.3.3 Hiatus, Anticipation, and Decline: 1979-1982

Both Douglas and Converse County were affected by the national recession which started in 1980. The abrupt decline in the uranium industry in 1979 resulted in large layoffs as mines and mills were cut back and then shut down. The level of uncertainty regarding other energy development activities in the county increased as the market for coal softened and high interest rates discouraged investment. By late 1981, Douglas, and Converse County, which had been anticipating major additional growth into the mid- to late-1980s, was faced with a rapidly declining resource base, cancellation or deferral of numerous proposed projects, and a severe economic and population decline.

9.4 Changes in Community Resources

9.4.1 Public Facilities and Services

A combination of increased tax revenues (from oil production, the power plant, uranium mines and sales tax) utility hook-up/development fees, and more effective competition for federal and state grants, loans, and impact assistance enabled Douglas to substantially improve the scope and quality of public facilities and services by the middle of the rapid growth period without raising mileage rates. This was considered to have been an important accomplishment, achieved not without difficulty, which facilitated better cooperation between newcomers and longtime residents and which clearly improved overall community resources. In addition to the construction of new schools, a community recreation center, senior citizens housing and center, a new court house and jail, ball fields, improved water and solid waste disposal systems, the county, in conjunction with the community, also sponsored day-care and public health nursing.

The only complaints heard about these increased facilities and services were that they were, in aggregate, too elaborate and were not in keeping with the area's long-held tradition of frugality. Overall, however, everyone seemed to agree that the improvements had benefited all residents in one way or another.

9.4.2 Housing

Housing was a problem during the initial period of rapid growth, with severe shortages noted during the early growth spurt. Many local residents did not entirely approve of the rapid expansion of mobile homes that occurred during this period. Following 1975, increasingly higher interest rates made provision of single-family homes ever more expensive and difficult. Some assistance was provided by collaboration between local and nonlocal developers and between developers and energy companies, who guaranteed the sale of constructed units.

Changes in community and county ordinances placed increased demands on developers, who were required to incorporate the cost of utilities and roads into their development costs. Increasingly stringent subdivision and mobile home park regulations improved the appearance of new developments and ensured a better standard of living for development residents.

The sponsors of projects proposed for the 1980s were required to ensure that adequate housing would be made available for their workers before the state industrial siting council would approve their permits. This reduced some of the uncertainty regarding the ability of the community to respond to the projected large demands of the 1980s.

As mentioned previously, because of effective collaboration between town and county governments, property tax rates did not escalate dramatically during the growth period. This, combined with the development of subsidized housing for the elderly by the county, prevented the adverse effects on town property holders that could otherwise have developed.

9.4.3 Private Investments

It was generally reported in Douglas that local landowners and entrepreneurs recognized the opportunity for investment in local business and real estate. Although these opportunities were most readily available to the more wealthy members of the community and those

with the best information regarding development, on the whole, respondents generally reported satisfaction that the benefits had been captured by community residents rather than outsiders. Nevertheless, issues over conflict of interest and avarice did emerge on occasion.

9.4.4 New Economic Climate

As the community and county became accustomed to the changes and growth associated with energy development, many aspects of the local economy, social activities, and political life became interwoven with the development activities. The community adapted to shift-work and high wages. Then came the layoffs, declining purchasing power and surplus housing and economic capacity. Both county and community leaders took active roles in trying to promote additional energy development in the 1981-82 decline, and a concerted effort was organized to seek opportunities for economic diversification.

9.5 Changes in Social Organization

9.5.1 Diversity/Complexity

Energy development resulted in notable increases in the diversity and complexity of social organization in Douglas as the only major basic economic activity outside of agriculture. The economy became more diversified, although the proximity of Casper inhibited extensive economic response. The population doubled during the decade of the 1970s and became more heterogeneous in age structure, occupations, lifestyles, values, and perspectives. It was commented that this gave members of local minority groups a welcome sense of anonymity.

Community orientation shifted, and specialized groups and services were created. Particularly in terms of leadership, the community changed, with an increasing number of persons who had little or no personal or informal influence acquiring positions of considerable formal power. Leadership roles thus evolved into two increasingly distinct categories (1) informal, political roles and, (2) formal, administrative ones. Newcomers with professional training were more likely than longtime residents to hold the formal, administrative roles.

Rules and the enforcement of rules and formal modes of behavior became more common in response to the increasing diversity of backgrounds, interests of community residents, and community needs.

9.5.2 Outside Linkages

Although Douglas and Converse County historically had established strong ties to other communities and the state, such linkages were both expanded and heavily utilized during the period of energy-related growth. Political and administrative linkages to state and federal agencies were utilized to obtain grants, loans, technical assistance, and political support.

As part of the energy development, a large number of large national corporations became active in Converse County. Although some local businesses complained about difficulties obtaining work from such companies, others noted that none but the larger companies had sufficient assets to develop the energy resources of the county. It was noted, however, that the linkages potentially available from such companies did not provide any substantial diversification or stability to the local economy.

The presence of large corporations and newcomers promoted a more cosmopolitan attitude among community residents in terms of news and issues and increased their sense of being actively involved in issues of national importance and attention.

9.5.3 Distribution of Resources and Power

The diversification of residents' characteristics caused substantial change in the criteria for status and the hierarchy among community residents, as the time-established patterns were disrupted by new people, occupations and opportunities. There was no longer a single, tacitly understood hierarchy headed by large and wealthy ranchers and old-time business. The new people and economic activity increased the complexity of the criteria by which both status and material goods were distributed. Traditional status assignments became less permanent as

they became less personalized. The increased economic and social complexity created more opportunities for women and other community groups. Overall, the community appeared to have become more flexible.

9.5.4. Coordination/Cooperation

One of the outstanding characteristics of Douglas's response to growth was its ability to formulate clear community goals, listen to the interests of various community groups, and marshal an effective response. Community leadership exhibited excellent capabilities for coordination and cooperation through some difficult times. The ability of the county and town to stand together and consolidate their resources and efforts was recognized as the key element in the community's ability to come through its very rapid development as well as it did. Since success breeds success, the ability of community leaders to organize this response during the early growth period was seen as critical to the sequence of events.

9.6 Social Well-being in Douglas

9.6.1 Access to Resources

Per capita income in Converse County increased more rapidly during the 1970s (\$3,873 in 1970 to \$9,120 in 1979) than in the United States as a whole (\$3,893 in 1970 to \$8,757 in 1979) but rose slightly more slowly than in the state of Wyoming during this same period (\$3,672 to \$9,630).

Investment capital, tax revenues, and job opportunities increased. By 1980, as a result of the increased tax revenues, increased population, and forecasts of continued growth, that after the initial period of struggling to catch up a much wider and better quality of public facilities were available to local residents, and commercial offerings had expanded. Local government expanded its role in service provision during the 1970s, entering the area of housing for the elderly, day-care, and supporting other areas of recreation and human services as well.

9.6.2 Behavior Changes

Although community residents felt that Douglas had maintained its character as a nice, small town, changes in personal relationships and in public behaviors were noted. Residents, as well as officials, noted that the number of disruptive behaviors had increased. Crime, especially bad check writing, theft and burglary, had increased, but respondents felt that only a portion of that could be attributed solely to newcomers. Traffic congestion had increased the problems created by drunken driving -- long a local problem -- and the increased diversity of the population had increased the number of clashes occurring in local bars.

According to school counselors, and local mental health officials, some residents had felt the stress of rapid change more acutely than others, but no persistent problems of adaptation were attributed to the changed community characteristics, and the incidence of disorders was not considered particularly high. Excessive drinking was considered a serious social problem, but one not greatly increased by energy development, though certainly not reduced by it either. Many of the family problems and other behavioral problems were felt to be caused, or at least aggravated, by the excessive use of alcohol. Alcohol abuse was considered the most serious problem among school children.

Child neglect and abuse were generally perceived to have increased over the study period, as were conflicts between spouses and divorce. Aside from divorce (which did increase over the period from 3:1,000 in 1970 to 8:1,000 in 1979), no data were available for comparison.

9.6.3 Perceptions of Community Well-being

Residents -- newcomers and longtime residents -- reported that the community was chaotic and not a particularly pleasant place to live during the initial growth spurt, before local response was organized. During this initial period, the uncertainty -- about how bad things would get and about what should be done -- clearly contributed to residents' sense of anxiety and frustration. Once it became clear that

growth was under control and that the community was not going to continue getting worse indefinitely, resident's perceptions of the community were greatly improved.

Residents differed considerably in their perceptions of Douglas and of the changes that had occurred. Some, primarily longtime residents, continued to regret the loss of personal familiarity and informality of the pre-growth period, feeling herrassed by the more rapid pace, and disoriented by their changed position vis-a-vis the community as a whole. Others appreciated the increased diversity and enjoyed the diminuation of personal scrutiny and labeling that had been prevalent when the town was smaller. Others noted the increased opportunity and the increased challenge, thriving on problems to solve and new people to meet. Nearly everyone agreed that as of 1980, Douglas had benefited materially from the growth, and that positive or negative, many changes had occurred in the everyday life of the community.

9.7 Summary of Major Findings

- 1) The community's ability to foster joint town/county collaboration and to establish clear community-wide goals were critical to its ability to respond effectively. Decisive leadership was crucial, and was available when it was needed. The community leaders took on the problems of development as a challenge that they intended to win.
- 2) Uncertainty over the extent of community change during the early growth period contributed substantially to the perceptions of tension and chaos that enhanced the adverse effects of the initial growth period.
- 3) The institution of formal planning and control procedures by an outsider (brought in as town administrator) was important in attaining community control over impacts while contributing to more equitable distribution of effects. At the same time, it enhanced longtime residents' perception of change.
- 4) The linkages that the community had historically established to the state proved important in drawing state attention to the problems of rapid growth Douglas faced during the initial growth period, and to the development of state legislation that made impact assistance available and modified the tone of development throughout Wyoming. As a municipality, Douglas did not benefit greatly from the increased property valuation associated with the development activities. Its ability to attain impact funds

and technical assistance from the state and federal government was important to its ability to respond. Of equal importance was the ability of town and county leaders to identify a common interest in the "community" well-being and to form an effective cooperative effort to address joint problems, including revenue sharing.

- 5) The community became more socially and politically diverse and complex over the study period. The large influx of newcomers provided an impetus for the establishment of more formal procedures, and for a shift away from the highly personal mode of interaction that had previously dominated. To some residents this constituted a significant loss; to others it provided greater perceived freedom.
- 6) The majority of both longtime and new residents favored controlled growth. By the end of the study period, the community was generally confident it could handle sustained growth of considerable magnitude and expressed support for continued energy development. Indeed, residents generally characterized Douglas' growth during the 1975-79 period as "moderate."

APPENDIX A
Example Interview Guide

A.1 Agency Interviews

A.1.1 Interviews with Service Agencies
(school, social services-welfare, law enforcement, public health, mental health, judge if possible)

A.1.1.1 Schools

- 1) Introduce yourself and explain purpose -- want to know how community addressed each of the needs that occurred during period of rapid growth (or last five years).
- 2) Review population data and causes of growth.
- 3) Review school data (have copy ready for them)
Make any corrections/additions or comments. If data not available locally, find out where it would be.
- 4) How has demand changed? Why? (esp. energy growth)
- 5) Has classroom space been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it resolved?
- 6) What important changes have occurred in the areas of....? Was that a problem? How were problems addressed? What are concerns for future?
 - curriculum/education approach
 - staff
 - student behavior and characteristics - probe esp. for transiency (check availability of turnover rates)
 - administrative procedures
 - any special programs for newcomers
 - any special problems created by newcomers
 - any changes due to growth
 - financing
- 7) What school-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., consolidation, new school construction, etc.) Point is to articulate public decision-making process. What are concerns?
 - Who, when, what, how, why. Who were the parties involved,
 - Who was not involved who logically should have been?
 - If there were factions, identify issue and probe for recurrence and for names of prime actors on both sides.
 - Was there a point when problems started being addressed in a new way? When? Why?
- 8) At the beginning of the growth period (or 10 years ago), who were the influentials in the community?
 - How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Who were key decision-makers for community during growth period?
- 9) Check for changes in extra-local linkages (source of funds, contacts, source of teachers in-service, etc.)

- 10) In their opinion, were there groups in the community that have been (or would be) affected differently by the growth and energy development?
 - Both positive and negative
 - Who, how and why (seek mechanism and understanding of change and community structure that distributes effects/opportunities)
 - (prompt for employment, housing, services, schools, way-of-life)
- 11) Functional groups and social differentiation:
 - try to get a description of criteria for social differentiation (in pre-growth period if there was one) and of each of the major groups (size, livelihood, geographic location, ethnicity, property ownerships, relationships between groups) How has that changed? (Criteria, groups or group characteristics). The purpose is twofold: (1) to describe structural/organization characteristics of community and (2) to identify attributes of groups that could influence distribution of project effects. Get names of group representatives. (Important for interviewing but also to illustrate familiarity with different strata.)
- 12) Demographic characteristics of respondent
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationship to energy development

A.1.1.2 Law Enforcement

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Review growth data
- 3) Review Part 1 and Part 2 crime and service provision
 - reported crime
 - calls for service
 - budget
 - uniformed officers and personnel
 - cars
- 4) Did crime and/or calls for service increase during growth period? What are expectations?
 - what types of crime(s)
 - who were (will be) perpetrators?
 - who were (will be) victims? Did (will) crime occur in particular neighborhoods/areas?
 - what do they think was (or will be) reason for change?
 - (Sheriff, what about specific county problems -- trespass, poaching, cattle rustling, etc. what is county people's view?)

- 5) Service provision
 - Were (will) personnel and equipment (be) adequate?
If not, when was it inadequate?
Why was it inadequate?
 - What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in their department?
 - staff
 - administrative procedures
 - manner of enforcement
 - source of financing
- 6) What law enforcement changes (or issues) have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., new jail, consolidation of enforcement) Object is to articulate public decision-making, and to discuss sequence of response by community and leaders re: energy-related demands)
- 7) At beginning of growth period, who were the influentials? How (and when) did that change? What was role of energy development?
- 8) Check for changes in extra-local linkage.
- 9) Ask about groups and distribution of growth effects to different groups. Check especially for relationships among groups. Ask if they know representatives from each group that could be interviewed.
- 10) If appropriate, ask personal interview questions:
At least get demographic characteristics
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationships to energy development

A.1.1.3 Social Service/Public Assistance and Mental Health

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Review growth pattern and causes
- 3) Review agency data structure of agency
 - by type of assistance: total annual expenditures
expenditures per 1,000 population
case loads
staff levels
- 4) How has demand for service changed?
Why? Change in use patterns by long-time residents? Why?
Different use patterns by newcomers? Why? How are these reflected in the data?
- 5) Have staff and resources been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it resolved? Have they received adequate support from state?
- 6) What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in the areas of... What is their view on source of change? Any data?

- child abuse and neglect
 - marital discord, spouse abuse, divorce
 - alcoholism
- 7) What public service/assistance-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? Describe issue, when it occurred, who played what roles, what was outcome, how does that fit into overall decision-making pattern in community? Was there a point (in growth period) when decisions started being made in a new way or by different people?
 - 8) Who were influentials at beginning of growth period? How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Get names of really key individuals re: community actions.
 - 9) What distinguishable groups are there in the community? What are criteria for social differentiation? What are distinctive attributes of each group? How would one characterize relationships between groups? What about prior to growth? (Any particular neighborhoods?) Names of people who could discuss each group.
 - 10) Have groups been affected differently by growth? Especially energy development? What about inflation? How have effects of energy development been distributed among groups? How has that occurred?
 - 11) Demographic characteristics of respondent
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationship to energy development

A.1.2 Group Representatives/General Population

A.1.2.1 Introduction

A.1.2.2 Personal biography

- 1) Background (family, where lived)
- 2) When came to community
- 3) Educational history
- 4) Occupational history, esp. during 1970s
 - occupational mobility/immobility
 - energy-related employment
 - how did (would) they get it? entrepreneurial - ask about financing, business style and expansions
- 5) Housing - price or availability
- 6) Family history
 - family and employment history of spouse
 - school experience of children
- 7) Service provision - any problems? evaluation -- compare predevelopment with now.
- 8) What recreational/social activities available and used; compare predevelopment (or future) with now.
- 9) Who are their friends, occupation - length of residence, location - how did they become friends? Change during study period?
- 9a) Who are their children's friends?
- 10) How were friends affected by development?
- 11) How about others in the community?
 - What other groups do they see?
 - Were any affected differently? How?
- 12) Have newcomers been accepted as part of the community?
 - Examples of interaction between longtime residents and newcomers; between various groups.
- 13) How do they feel they personally have been affected (or anticipate)?
- 14) How do they feel their neighborhood has been affected (or anticipate)?
- 15) If parents are in community, how have they been affected (or anticipate)?
- 16) What changes have occurred in the community (or anticipate)?
 - What effects have there been from energy development (or anticipate)?
 - Probe child abuse
 - change in decision-making
 - change in orientation/focus
 - sense of vitality
 - sense of community purpose
- 17) General satisfaction with expected changes
- 18) If good spokesperson for their group
 - Profile of group predevelopment
 - livelihood
 - size

- location (residential)
- property ownership
- demographic characteristics
- special needs
- inter-group relationships
- position in community and relationship with other groups
- Distribution of effects
 - employment and income
 - size
 - demographic characteristics
 - housing
 - facilities/services
 - decision-making
 - relationship with others
- Profile now

A.1.3 Decision-maker Interviews

The purpose of these interviews is to describe the evolution of community-level response to the demands of growth. In addition to this description, the purpose is to be able to determine how pre-growth community and decision-making characteristics influenced (or will influence) the response pattern and how the modification of the decision-making process has affected (will affect) community-level decision-making both during and after rapid growth. Of particular interest is the role and utilization of legislation, especially legislation developed for impact mitigation.

1. Introduction

2. Review chronology and source of growth (complete Figure 3)
3. Rapid growth creates some major needs and changes in a community. Discuss how the community addressed some of the major ones. Ask about ones already identified, but pursue others they identify.

- 1) Schools

- Building new facilities -- how did votes come out on major bond issues? Why? Were they able to raise adequate funds? What were problems?
 - Why did they occur?
 - How were they addressed? Who?
 - Were they solved? Will they occur again next time?
 - What role did state actions/legislation play in response?
- How did response evolve over study period? How did the changes affect how things are done now? Was there a point when decisions or community response was approached in a new or different way?

- 2) Housing

- How did housing response occur? How was it coordinated? What were the problems? (probe financing and zoning and legislation)
 - Why did they occur?
 - How were they addressed? Who?
 - Were they solved? Will they recur next time?
 - Role of state actions/legislation
- How did response evolve over study period? How do the changes that occurred affect how things are done now?

- 3) Planning and zoning

- What is history of planning and zoning?
- How and when did formal planning and zoning get started and staffed?
- What role did it play throughout study period?
- What were problems? or key decisions?
 - How did they occur?
 - How were they addressed - by whom?
 - Were they solved or will they recur?
 - What role did legislative actions play?
 - How did response evolve over time?
- What use was made of legislation? Where did initiative come from? Was there resistance?

- 4) Public works
Discuss major decisions as above
- 5) Law enforcement
As schools
- 6) Animal control
What have they done? How and why? How successful?
- 7) Review how and when state acts designed to assist with the impacts of energy growth have been used. How important have they been? (e.g. for Wyoming: (1) sales tax (2) farm loan board (3) joint powers acts (4) industrial siting (5) severance tax)
- 8) In respondent's opinion, how much local control has (will) the community been (be) able to exercise over the important decisions and actions that affected it during growth period?
 - was prewarning adequate and accurate (information)?
 - cooperation from project sponsor? Describe how and why
 - was uncertainty about reality of development a problem? How, why?
 - been able to work with state in handling problems?
- 9) Clarify their perception of the role and importance of state involvement and of large non-local corporate involvement in the community economy/affairs who initiated? What effect now? Future?
- 10) How has (will) the political leadership and government structure in the community changed? regarding city council, county commission, county chairman of political parties?
 - Have there been any changes as a direct result of energy development?
 - Any that are particularly important to community's response or ability to respond?
 - Have companies participated? How?
 - Have (will) community leaders been (be) willing to address problems and take action? Why not, what was (will be) impediment?
 - Has (will) conflict of interest been (be) important in shaping community response, either in terms of actions taken or public trust/community support?
- 11) If business person or banker:
 - Was there (is there anticipation of) a shortage of financing for either businesses or consumers during the study period? Why? How was (will) it (be) addressed? What effect did (will) it have? Where do locals bank?
 - Has banking structure in the community changed? In what way? Why?
 - Did banking policies and practices change during the study period?
 - What role, if any, did energy companies play in banking, local (vs. nonlocal) businesses?
- 12) Demographic characteristics
 - occupation and previous employment history
 - length of residence in community
 - origin

- family characteristics (including other relatives)
- age
- sex
- relationship to energy development
- 13) Check to see if they feel any pertinent information has been neglected
- 14) Names of other people to talk to
 - influentials
 - group representatives
 - administrative leaders